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The History of the Congress

Feathers and Stones

The World's Constitutions

Hindu Home Rediscovered

British Empire Unlimited

Gandhi And Gandhism

National Education

Linguistic Provinces

Why Vote Congress

SOME FUNDAMENTALS
of
THE INDIAN PROBLEM

By

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VORA & CO., PUBLISHERS LTD.
3, Round Building, Bombay 2.

First Edition, July 1946.

Price Rs. One & As. Twelve only

FOREWORD

In modern times, wars constitute, it is said, as much a constituent of civilization and contributory to progress as peace itself. And for explanation it is averred that while wars were at one time pursued in quest of territory, they later were prompted by motives of prestige and fame. Next the wars of the 19th century were declared to be wars of Commerce. And commerce stood perilously near Imperialism. The two great world wars of the twentieth century were declared to have been waged for the overthrow of fascism and the establishment of democracy. But the post war struggles as witnessed in the deliberations of the United Nations Organization (UNO) and the Security Council, have proved to the hilt that while dear old Albion has not shed her Imperialism the mighty 'behemoth of Muscovy' is fast heading towards a new imperialism of the Russian mould and patent.

Over a century ago in 1824, Daniell O' Connell made an eloquent speech on Catholic emancipation and what he said a hundred and twenty two years back bears the freshness of an observation made to-day. It is the same story from the reign of Queen Anne onward of England.

"In the strength and plenitude of power enacting a great portion of that horrible and frightful code violating the religious toleration on which the Revolution had been founded, the Revolution which had changed the dynasty of Stuarts and placed the predecessors of the present family on the throne of these realms.

"In the experimental despotism which England has fastened upon Ireland, her mighty appetite for slavery was not gorged. The next attempt was made on the American Colonies. Despotism, in fact, was an

all-craving, voracious animal. Increase of appetite in fact did grow on what it fed and the Americans shook off the thralldom which a Parliament representing an inglorious and ignominious funding system had sought to impose. Wives animated their husbands to the combat. They bid them contend for their children, for the dear pledges of their mutual love. Mothers enjoined their sons to remember those who bore them. The younger sex bid their lovers to earn their favours in a well fought field, and to return arrayed in glory. They did so and the Americans achieved their independence.

"In 1778 Holland assumed a threatening aspect and some wise friend whispered into the ear of England "search the rich resources of the Irish Heart, give to their arms a stimulus to exertion. Delude them with promises if you will but convert their power into your strength and render them subservient to your purposes. England stood the advice and the meteor flag was unfurled. The Danish, Spaniard and Dutch fleets peopled a wide waste of waters. But what of Ireland? Oh, although long neglected she was faithful in the day of need. Fifty thousand seamen were produced a month, the volunteers organized, a federated Independence was created and the Catholic cause was debated. But lo! peace and gratitude vanished nad justice was not abroad and obligations remained unrequited and Catholics were forgotten. Forgotten? No acts were passed against them? Yes, strange as it may seem, the Act taking from them the power to vote at vestries was passed at the very time.

"In Ireland they had been blamed for being agitators. Whatever little they had gained, they gained by agitation while they uniformly lost by moderation which always cost us something. Our religion was

reviled and we thanked the revilers. They spat on our faces and we paid them for it. This reminds me of Shylock in the "Merchant of Venice" :—

*"Fair sex you spat on me on Wednesday last
On such a day you called me a dog ;
And for these courtesies, I'll lend you so much monies."*

India has for a century and half helped to feed and enrich those that have spat on her, made her rich resources available to their foreign rulers and gloried in the 'good things of the world' lavished upon the classes who gratefully endeared that rule to the masses. The bane of India has been its own intelligentsia who have been conquered in mind and spirit by the alien rulers. India's problem has, therefore, become particularly complicated and its fundamental character which claimed primary attention to mental, moral and spiritual emancipation from the thralldom of an alien race and language, polity and culture, laws and institutions, has demanded services to which the educated classes have not proved equal and sacrifices from which they have shrunk. Times however have changed. A new passion for freedom and for self-realization has seized the affections of the people at large who have thrown up a new leadership from the village, inborn and unsophisticated which to-day is working a miracle throughout the land. The following pages embody an attempt to study the play of the new forces that have entered the arena of the Indian struggle and the display of the new passions, patriotism and public spirit kindled in the breast of the common man.

New Delhi,

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B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

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CHAPTER ONE

SECTION I.

India A Nation

If politics is one and indivisible, there must be a fundamental problem lying at the root of it all. No one asks what the fundamental problem of British or American politics is. They are independent nations and states. They owe no allegiance to a foreigner. They have built up through arduous labours and indefatigable efforts a body of traditions which serve as the inestimable treasure wherein lie embodied the rich experiences of the past. Their present is but the heritage of that glorious past while their future will be the fulfilment of the longings and aspirations of their variegated present. With India the fundamental problem rather is how to recover her independence, how to emancipate herself from the bondage of foreign rule, how then to rebuild the Indian Nation on enduring foundations to ever rising heights of happiness, prosperity and contentment. No nation can be free that is not conscious of her nationality. No nation will put forth the necessary quantum of sacrifice and striving which is not tormented by the pangs of its own thralldom. National awakening, the creation of national consciousness, is the first step towards the attainment of freedom and independence by a nation. Indeed a people become a nation only when they and

their activities, their ambitions and their aspirations, their hopes and their longings are animated by a vital and living consciousness of its own fall and by an operative and uplifting faith in its own rise.

India unfortunately has laboured for long under the influence of misrepresentation and false teaching. In an age when the spirit of Nationalism is abroad winning converts from over the whole civilised globe it should appear but a fitting close and final fulfilment of Nature's own ever-widening laws that India and her peoples should rise at last and proclaim the birth of a new and mighty Nationality. The trumpet blast of the glorious news has gone forth on all the winds of Heaven but the world stands or affects to stand an unbeliever still. To the dull average vision accustomed only to little limiting lines of hill and stream and valley as the home of a nation, a panorama of landscape which slips from climate to climate, leaps over stupendous mountain chains and enfolds vast river-basins must ordinarily seem too vast and too variegated to form the cradle of but One Race Personality. Over there in Europe a subtle variation in colour amidst the sameness of a common ethnic type has been often deemed sufficient to justify the claim for separate Nationhood. How should men trained to such narrow conceptions apprehend that all the diverse races and peoples of India would one day rise, as with one living will, and pulse with the throb of one common emotion. Through centuries of varied human events Life in our Land has known every possible change on Earth, known the glory of Empire, the joy of moral and spiritual peace, the convulsion of

war, and the grim spectre of political and national ruin : what clearness of imaginative vision then would be needed to perceive through all this varied story of defeat, disruption and decay, the slow unfoldment of one increasing national purpose !

It is always a measure of high individual culture—this power to apprehend a deeper oneness of soul beneath a seeming diversity of outer forms. Children know and mark life only in the crawling worm and chirping insect. Right education and wider sympathies are needed to receive an impression of unity of being and harmony of interrelation in the still repose of higher animal and vegetable life or the rhythm of movement through the immeasurable blue of star-spangled heavens. Likewise the crudest political instinct suffices in a community of men clear in outline and compact of organisation, to perceive and exhibit a sense of national unity. Only a rare refinement of political insight or an inherited breadth and delicacy of perception would realise the singleness of the national spirit through all the beauty and complexity of a varied and picturesque body-politic.

But in regard to Indian Nationalism doubt in the Indian and scepticism in the stranger would not perhaps have lingered so long if an imperfect political philosophy had not, years ago, served to accentuate a superstition about the essential unities of Nationalism among a people. All attempted analysis of fundamental concepts betray this strange weakness that they invariably divert attention from central to subordinate ideas. And so it comes about that the best service which the present generation may render, lies

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in clearing these long-accepted superstitions and in proving from out of the records of other nations' experiences that the majority of so-called "pre-requisites to Nationality" are neither requisite in themselves nor verifiable from even a single one of the most famous examples of Nationalism in Europe or America.

What then is the lesson of History? not the History of bare, outward facts and events but the inner story of spirit and trend? Cut down to the square truth of the matter, there is but one outstanding fact, namely, that nations have always made themselves and frequently in the face of the severest obstacles. In other words, if any race or any country has a soul of its own, that soul is sure to find itself a fitting vehicle of nationality despite all seeming hindrances. And a second important service would be to touch on all those essentials of characteristics and culture which exhibit a unity of National life and consciousness, a tendency of moral and spiritual forces setting dimly towards the realisation of a national ideal.

There are those who point to another and a seemingly more serious obstacle in the way of Indian Nationalism, who emphasize the present phase of unspeakable greed and fierce selfishness which nationalism has everywhere assumed, and contend that spiritual India with her message still undelivered, should not consent to enter an arena where all her vital energies might be swallowed up in the grosser demand of the physical life. It must be admitted that the modern exhibition of national strength and self-concentration in which every race is striving to take

its own part shows nothing elevating or satisfying to the larger hope of the future. The unceasing demand for higher and yet higher efficiency which calls out all the masculine virtues of will, enterprise and faith, vulgarises national life and poisons national existence at its very springs. And year by year the world's atmosphere of international thought grows so corrupt and so vitiated by mean and unnatural impulses that it seems impossible for anything gentle or tender or truthful to strike root and flourish in it. But it would be wrong so to emphasize the darkest phase of Nationalism which perhaps represents only the first, the inevitable 'Kali' stage of all great processes of human evolution, the primal expression of the strength and passion of a movement, the gathering to a point of the stream of vital energy which will hereafter break and disperse in a new and fertilising flood.

And in such a transition from the nationalism of strength to the nationalism of peace, charity and good will, nothing can prove of greater service than the great experiment of Indian Nationality for it is certain that in the attainment of this ideal all the old impulses and inclinations to progress must completely be reversed or replaced by a deeper passion for a richer and more spiritual humanity. The energy and enthusiasm of character which has so far contributed to national concentration must here turn outward and help to foster a wider scheme of human relations. New virtues must spring up and flourish, a new comradeship of mind, a new tolerance of spirit, which will illumine not the differences but the common sympathies of life. The very course of human sentiment must turn aside

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from fields of individual interest to stimulate and to sustain the desire for communal intermingling, the delight in wider social service. How else should Parsi and Jew, Moslem and Christian, Indian and European mix and mingle with a common enthusiasm for a National Ideal? And how should Indian Nationalism, nourished on a thousand harmonies of character and culture, and breathing the pure purpose of a chastened spiritual Ideal, how should such a realised vision of manhood's grace and nation's dignity be at all akin to the crude specimens of present day nationality sustained on the wild and primitive motive of national self-centredness?

The conclusion of it all points to a second alternative whereby the seemingly imminent evils of nationalism may be over-passed and that is supplied in the concept of Federalism. Not that Nationalism must everywhere pass over into the federal or group idea but that to small and imperfect races which are not conspicuous enough, or distinctive enough in personality, which lack historical antecedents or clearness of traditional colouring, and which will run through ethnic relationship or common political origins or aspirations into a greater or lesser association of States,—to such, the evolution into larger groups, be they an empire, is certainly an onward step in the path of progress. And how far the coming into existence of a few such formidable groups ultimately making for a world-Federation, with one currency and one postage stamp, will rally and effectually change the sword of war for the staff of peace in the governance of the world is an issue still in the womb

of darkness and of the future but that we are heading for it cannot be denied. The progress may be impalpable, the pace may be slow, but the position changes from century to century, from war to war, from decade to decade. The League of Nations has, after a hectic span of a score and seven years' life, been given a decent and well deserved burial. The U.N.O. is taking its place and many more ad hoc bodies may have to come and go before the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World,—dreamed of and sung by the poet,—become well established institutions of life bringing the creation within the compass of the one family as adumbrated in the Upanishads.

SECTION II

Nationalism—a Step in Evolution

In pleading for the spread of this spirit of Nationalism, let us at the outset clear our mind of all cant that speaks of antagonisms. The development of a scheme of Indian Nationalism cannot or ought not to conflict with the interests of any other country or nation for the perfection of international culture and the world's civilization requires the growth of each component factor to its fullest measure. Any country or nation possessing the rudiments of culture and progress, but neglecting to foster their development, shall be a betrayer of the world's interests, not to speak of the individual loss it may bring upon itself. India can no more merge her national type of character into England's than Prince Albert could lose his individuality in that of John Bull, or Alsace and

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Lorraine could imbibe the civilisation of Prussia; and how much nearer is Germany to England or France to Germany than England is to India? The truth is that between country and country or between nation and nation, which possess a title to civilization, there are fundamental differences, both mental, and temperamental, which it would be irrational to ignore. While the perfection of the human soul constitutes the ultimate object of all human activity, the methods employed for the realization of the object have all along varied. The type of Western character necessarily forms a contrast to that of the East. The different types of the world's civilizations do present such variations. The most fascinating feature of humanity is the picturesque variation in national temperament and character beneath a substratal unity in the higher communal emotions. Everything that hints at and accentuates these variations ranging from the superficial differences in dress and language and manners to the deeper distinctions in social laws, political institutions and communal disciplines co-exists only with the maintenance of a clear and firm integrity of National life and character. Each race then standing apart on its own ancient plot of Earth will strive to attain to the full stature of its individuality, preserving and multiplying all that constitutes its own distinctive character. The Greek ideal striving for beauty of form and artistic environment in all branches of life, the Roman standing for Law and order, the Englishman with his dogged persistence and love of strenuous endeavour and the Hindu seeking to spiritualize life in all its aspects, may in broad outline

be regarded as representing some of the types of national character of the world. The purpose of these comparisons is not to obscure the basic value of the different civilizations, but to show how it is necessary to recognize differences in mould and cast that account for variations in form and character. The basic purity and individuality of the several forms may well be maintained while assimilating new features and new factors that conduce to progress. "Amongst the Jews of Central, Southern and Eastern Europe, there was in the middle ages considerable infusion of non-Hebrew blood. Between the Jew of Poland and the Jew of Spain or Austria-Hungary and Germany, the most decided physical dissimilarity exists but the moral soul and psychological type are uniform. The same holds true of the South African Boers whose names vary from DaLaRey to Joubert or Villiers.

Our country has perhaps a special function in the blending of civilizations. China, the type of an Eastern civilization, is little called upon to solve this world problem which confronts us to-day. Ours is the land where the five great cultures of the world are brought together. When we preserve these ancient cultures and add to them that long conceived but little realized sentiment of unity, we shall be "holding the balance of spiritual and material power in our hands". Fallen as we are, we are still great in the greatness of the culture which has descended to us and which no one but ourselves can transmit in its essential integrity to the coming generations. It is for this purpose that we seek to perpetuate the individuality of our national culture while we do not circumscribe its growth by

any unhealthy spirit of narrow conservatism. "One of the special contributions which we in this country may yet claim to make to the solution of the secular problem is the reconciliation of sturdy and persistent local independence with combination for common purposes, loyal in its spirit and united in its activities."

As the individual chiefly obtains by means of the nation and in the nation, mental culture, power of production, security and race prosperity, so is the civilization of the race only conceivable and possible by means of the civilisation and development of individual nations. Whatever or however numerous be the differences in condition and circumstance between the different nations of the world, it must be recognized that in all exists the impulse of self-preservation and the desire for improvement. A plea for Indian nationalism means, then, a desire to ensure the existence as well as the continued progress of the Indian nation as a separate entity so as to "fit it for admission into the universal society of the future". That we have an eminent culture of our own to preserve which has withstood the vicissitudes of ages and that we have great progress still to achieve, will be made clear later on. The mere existence of culture, however, will go but a short way in ensuring national integrity unless there be a strong and active desire to perpetuate it. It has been well said that "unless the general feeling in a people is to regard individual existence and fortune as of no practical moment in comparison with the existence and self-respect of the body politic, the disintegrating force of time will always be stronger in the long run

than any given organization, and the Roman Empire fell to pieces, not because its administrators were always inefficient or its armies weak or its resources inferior to those of the nations that overpowered it, but because there was no sense of national life in the community" (Pearson). What had happened in Rome has happened in our own country. Between the individual and the humanity, as pointed out by Frederick List, stands and must continue to stand—the nation, and the intensity of national feeling is only a collective expression that indicates the aggregate patriotism of the individual citizens. Where the individual treats patriotism only as a mere phase of altruism or with Kant "strikes at its root by denying that the country has any original and natural rights to claim obedience from its citizens," there the sense of national feeling is bound to degenerate into one of self-interest or melt away into a vague, ill-understood and undefinable sentiment of the Theologian's universal brotherhood.

Patriotism is, in the words of one writer, the feeling that binds together people of the same race, or inhabiting the same country, so that they shall try to preserve the body-politic as it exists and recover for it what it has lost or acquire what seems naturally to belong to it. It seeks within the country the establishment of the best possible order. It enjoins sacrifice of property, liberty or life for these objects. It favours the existence of whatever is peculiar and local, of a distinctive literature, manners, dress and character. When it conceives the common country to

be weak, it tries to discard every possible foreign commodity, and when it is conscious of its strength, it tries to assimilate what is best from abroad. The same writer points out that "States can assume large obligations only when they have a reasonable certainty that successive generations of citizens will accept the responsibility of that indebtedness, and unless you consider the state but a casual aggregation of persons who find it to their advantage to live in a certain part of the Earth, we must assume that there is or ought to be a virtue of patriotism, a sense of national feeling, which binds the Englishman to England, the Frenchman to France (and may we add, the Indian to India) in some special and not easily dissoluble way". It is only when we recognize these two facts, namely, that we owe a duty to our fellowmen and that we cannot adequately perform it to the race at large, that we can entertain a sense of national feeling and having entertained it, we shall succeed in preserving it unsullied when we further recognize that that feeling is neither "a desire for caste ascendancy, nor the devotion of a band to its master nor the bitter hatred of one race for another".

National feeling itself may in turn have to be fed and reinforced by the due cultivation of a sense of communal compactness. Certain critics are disposed to doubt the utility of local organizations. They are disposed to think that such purely national associations are calculated to foster a provincial spirit and what is called a particularist point of view. Such an opinion cannot be shared by all. It may be that, in the words of Mr. Lowell, "we shall have to be content

for a good while yet with provincialism and must strive to make the best of it. In it lies the germ of Nationality, and that is, after all, the prime condition of thoroughbred greatness of character. To this choicest fruit of a healthy life, well-rooted in native soil and drawing prosperous juices thence, nationality gives the keenest flavour." "Although it may be conceded that a common language and the literature in which it is enshrined, a common religion and a common civilization are the common treasure house, and perhaps the strongest, the most enduring and the most imperishable bond of a country, kingdom or empire, yet it must be remembered that it is the tributaries of nationality, kept clean and pure and undefiled that by their confluence have enriched and continue to enrich both in volume and in quality, the central stream of National life." (Asquith)

The recognition of Nationality as a political principle is indeed of recent origin. James Stansfield, one of the towering statesmen of the 19th century who fought for religious equality, extended suffrage and the abolition of all disqualifications standing in the way of manhood's career, was a warm advocate of this principle of Nationality. "His creed," says Justin McCarthy, "would have been summed up in other days as the advocacy of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity: but he added an article which was then only coming into recognition, the article declaring for the principle of Nationality. That principle, although it has from all ages inspired the common action of every nation, given impulse to Poetry and Music, to political movement and to war, and has been in its perverted sense,

the impelling motive to war of conquest as well as of defence, was only beginning in the 19th century to make itself an element of consideration in the minds of thoughtful and enlightened politicians. It was then a growing faith even amongst practical politicians that the welfare of humanity is most likely to be attained when separate nationalities are allowed or are enabled to shape their own system of Government as far as possible." It is not however to shape the system of government alone that the principle of Nationality requires to be upheld, but to promote the welfare of humanity as well, by enriching the several contributions made by nations that have ensured their own progress by a process "of internal individualization".

There was a time when it was considered that there was something narrow in patriotism and that an international feeling was alone to be cultivated. but they now saw that what was wanted was not to build up mankind like some low animal organisation of cells each like the other and performing the same functions but to strive for a higher form of organism in which the various nations could bring their special gifts for the benefit of the general body, and mankind be richer by the various traditions, theories and civilisations. When he spoke of a nation he agreed that it was something that could not be defined, but there were certain characteristics by which they must know it. One was that it had some definite territory to which it could look as a home of its nationality and to which even its exiles could look when far away from it. Again, there should be a national tradition made up of struggle, effort, victory and suffering which

formed a common heritage and common memories to the whole body of its people. There should be developed a national consciousness which could survive even the assaults of the most powerful enemies. While he agreed that there had been many occasions in the history of Ireland when valuable characteristics of that nation were in danger of being lost by the overwhelming influence of its more powerful neighbour he still remembered how strong was the national consciousness of that country, and he believed that it would certainly triumph over all efforts to undermine or destroy it. The only possible destruction that could fall upon it was a long continued wasting of the nation, a loss of million after million of its population from the country until no more Irish remained in Ireland; but whilst any of its countrymen remained, there the national character of Ireland must necessarily also remain. "What it is that makes a nationality may be almost as hard to discover as what makes a man," says a writer; "Nationality has a stock or race, an inborn temperament with certain instincts and capacities. It is influenced by its habitation and by a store of long traditions; by a religion or philosophy which expresses its way of looking at life; by a language, literature and art; by unconscious habits and half-conscious memories of past deeds and incentives to reputation. All these things are in part, the expression of a national soul and in part they react upon the soul and keep it constant to a certain type. Caricaturists know how easy it is to personify a nation; indeed, in most modern instances the personification has been long ago fixed and in an ex-

tended view of the world we habitually regard the nationalities as individual people. We speak of them as persons, usually feminine; so distinct are their characteristics. Nationality also possesses that dynamic and incalculable quality from which almost anything may be expected in the way of marvel. Nationalities are few; they are the slow production of forgotten movements and obscure endeavours that cannot be repeated or restored. They are sanctified by the long struggles of their growth and by the affection that has gathered round their history. If they have kindled and maintained the light of freedom they are illuminated by a glory that transforms mountain poverty into splendour. If they have endured tyranny they are welded together by a common suffering and a common indignation. At the lowest they have their customs, their religion, generally their language, and always the familiar outward scenes of earth and water, hill and plain and sky, breathing with memories. Nationality is no statistical abstraction. It enters into the soul of each man or woman who possesses it. The life of each receives from it a colour, it is felt as an influence in action and in emotion, almost in every thought. In freedom, it sustains conduct with a proud assurance; under oppression, it may fuse all the pleasant uses of existence into one consuming channel of fanatical devotion. It has inspired the greatest literature, and served mankind with much that he counts of the highest value. Chiefly in countries where the flame of nationality burnt strong and clear, the human mind has achieved its finest miracles of beauty, thought and invention. Chiefly by

nationality the human race has been preserved from the dreariness of ant-like uniformity, and has attained the possibility of variation, which appears to be essential."

CHAPTER TWO

A Common Religion

How then has India lost this inestimable treasure of her inspiring culture, at any rate, how has such a culture ceased to inspire the daily conduct of the nation, how is it that the component factors of the nation have been held apart by ever recurring jars and mutual recriminations, rent asunder by conflicting customs and manners and separated by warring races and religions? The fundamental unity of Indian life and civilization has been obscured by these allegations of discord and disunion sedulously spread not merely by irresponsible globe trotters, but by designing administrators, bureaucrats and statesmen. It has been the fashion ever since the time of Adam Smith to repeat the cant that amongst the pre-requisites to nationality are a common language, a common religion and a common civilization. Such a view is vitiated at once by two presumptions that underlie it—first, that these elements are indispensable to the growth of the nation-idea amongst the people of a country and secondly, that they are, even if they be indispensable, absent from the conditions of Indian life.

Now few will deny that a common religion and a common language are potent factors that will help to weld the people of a country into a nation, but their value must be correctly appraised. We have survived the age when a common religion was considered an

indispensable factor in the development of nation-idea.. Ours is the age when full freedom of religious belief is granted to every individual. This era of personal and individual liberty began with the dawn of the 19th century. The principle of personal liberty of thought and conduct along with the two principles of Nationality and of the Sovereignty of the people formed the three modern notions that gained predominance in the early part of the last century and marked a transition of social and political conditions from status to contract, from authority to reason, from feudalism to democracy. No longer do States and Sovereigns demand from their subjects identity of faith or creed or forms of worship. The State Church is no longer enforced upon unwilling members of an Empire. Its disestablishment in Ireland by Mr. Gladstone marked the beginning of the end of an 'iniquity' the magnitude of which is described by Sydeny Smith in his humorous way thus:—"There is no abuse like it in all Europe, in all Asia, in all the discovered parts of Africa and in all we have heard of Timbuctoo". Count Cavour, an ardent admirer of English institutions wrote that the state-church in Ireland "remains to the Catholics a representative of the cause of their miseries, a sign of defeat and oppression. It exasperates their sufferings and makes their humiliation more keenly felt". Every argument for the State Church in England was an argument against the State Church in Ireland.

It were unnecessary to go into the religious feuds of western nations. The wildest atrocities were perpetrated in the name of religion against Catholics by

Protestants in Europe. Almost every nation in Europe is divided between conflicting faiths. To the Englishman Spenser was a patriot and poet, but to the Irishman he was the bitterest and the most unthinking enemy of Ireland, so were Cromwell and James III. With Chesterfield and Fox the reverse was true—Mary burnt Protestants while Elizabeth and Cromwell slew Roman Catholics, Lewis exiled and slew Huguenots, Alva massacred and tortured Lutherans and Calvinists. Calvinists murdered free thinkers. Is there any analogy to this horrid story of confusion and carnage, in the history of Hinduism and of India? But look at the United Kingdom. The opposition of Ulster to the progress of Ireland and the threats of war and vengeance against the Government of the day constitute the latest exhibition of sectarian prejudice and animosity amongst the Christian people. Take again the political disabilities imposed on the Catholics and the Jews by Protestant England. The sacramental Test which requires the taking of the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England as a qualification for service under the crown and the municipal offices was in force till 1828. The necessity of taking the oaths still more effectively excluded the Catholics from the municipal bodies or the public services. The necessity of making a declaration against Transubstantiation and the worship of the saints excluded Catholics from either House of Parliament. The Catholics were deprived of Parliamentary franchise in England. The sacramental Test was removed in 1828, but the words 'on the true faith of a Christian', in the declaration which took the place of the sacra-

mental Test had the effect of excluding the Jews from the benefit of the Act. In 1829 the Relief bill conferred the franchise upon the Catholics of Great Britain and admitted the Catholics of great Britain and Ireland to either House of Parliament. It admitted Roman Catholics to all municipal offices, to all judicial offices except in the ecclesiastical courts and to all political offices but three. This was the result of Daniel O' Connell successfully contesting a seat in Parliament though he knew, being a Catholic, he could not enter it. In 1833 the Quakers, the Moravians and the Separatists were provided facilities to enter Parliament, being allowed to substitute a simple affirmation for the usual oath. The same indulgence was extended to every member in 1838 whereby in addition many who would not give evidence on oath till then, became entitled to that privilege. In 1845 the Jews who could neither be sworn on the gospels nor declare 'on the true faith of a Christian', were for the first time admitted to municipal corporations and in 1858 the Jewish Relief Act admitted the Jews to Parliament. 'On the true faith of a Christian' was omitted in all cases in 1867. From the 17th century onwards Nonconformists were excluded from the Matriculation examination in Oxford and the degrees in Cambridge but in 1854 they were enabled to take degrees at both the places. In 1871 the University Tests' Act admitted them to all but a few offices in both the Universities. In 1868 compulsory church rates were abolished by Gladstone. In 1869 he passed an act to disestablish and disendow the church in Ireland. It was only in 1836 that Nonconformist and

Catholic parents could register births, deaths and marriages by civil officers and thus get legal evidence of births of their children without the necessity of baptism in the parish church. The Burial laws passed in 1881 permitted the burial of the dead either without any religious service or with such Christian and ordinary religious service as was preferred.

These disgusting accounts of misplaced religious zeal and religious bias form a glaring contrast to the generous and amicable spirit of toleration that has all along characterized the relations subsisting amongst the votaries of the different schools of thought and of the different systems of philosophy in India. With them "Toleration is neither a conclusion drawn by logical reasoning nor a mere dictate of social expediency. It flowed from a rich fountain in their hearts of sympathy with men and kindness for their struggles". The zeal of one school may have led to the forbidding of inter-marriage with another school. In some cases religious zeal has even caused the abandoning of interdining, but the question of superiority or inferiority of creeds, has never arisen. The communal relations of the members of the different schools have been of the most cordial type. Open rupture, ill-will or bad blood has seldom been generated amongst the different schools. They have all a common culture which serves to bring them into the closest intimacy.

The community of religion, on the other hand, has not always tended to bind different countries together into one nationality, for most of the Christian people of Europe and America possessing, as they do,

a common religion, have nevertheless remained and thriven as different nations. Those that have not had the same religion have been able to weld themselves together as a nation. Again, it must be remembered, as Mr. Macualiffe puts it, "Hinduism is the boa-constrictor which long ago disposed of Buddhism as far as India was concerned, which also absorbed in pre-historic days the religion of the Scythian invaders and which has converted uneducated Islam in India into a semi-paganism. The same Hinduism has now embraced Sikhism in its olds". These facts bespeak the vitality and the all-comprehending scope of the Hindu religion as well as its possibilities of adaptation to environment. The fault indeed would be ours if we did not make use of its excellent resources by bringing them to bear upon the pressing national needs of the present day. All that we have to do is to introduce into it such changes as may be called for by the changing conditions of life.

While this is so, one hears a good deal nowadays of Hindus and Muslims as belonging to two nations. The latter are for the most part descendants of the former who at one time or another changed faith. Religion is after all a holy relationship between one and one's God. In China and Java the Muslim is as much a patriot who belongs to the Chinese or Indonesian nationalism as any other. In Japan Admiral Togo, a Christian, was a Japanese patriot who won the Russo Japanese war for Japan against Russia in the early years of the 20th Century. Neither economic conditions, nor natural visitations take note of a community's religion. Floods and famine, earthquakes

and storms, drought and disease dispense their evils to all alike. Taxes make no difference between man and man. To speak of two nations in India is the height of perversity.

II

Language and Race

A common language is undoubtedly a great aid to that intercourse of commerce and culture which is the foundation and plinth as well as the crown and spire of the edifice of Nationalism. India has after all only ten languages for a population of 389 millions while for less than 200 millions America has sixteen languages and Russia seventeen, and while in that little district of Switzerland 71 per cent speak German, 22 per cent French and 5 per cent Italian.

Little indeed need be said of a common race. For purity of blood India comes second to no other race in the world. The Indians have safeguarded it with religious scrupulousness and by the aid of a scrupulous religion. But all the great nations of modern Europe are of mixed descent. Italy is divided between Austrian, Spanish and French Nationalities and Canada between French and English. In the veins of the American flows the blood of a dozen non-English races—Dutch, Chinese, German, French, Swede, Scotch Irish and so on. In the words of W. T. Stead, "the new race has emerged from the furnace pot into which all nationalities have been melted down in order to produce that richest ingot of humanity,—the modern American. Even in France which is much more united

and consolidated than any other country in Europe, you have in the provinces, thoroughly merged in a national whole, individual types of a Bouignian, a Picard and a Gascon. When the New German Empire started on its career in 1871, many foreign critics doubted its future. They dwelt on the elements of jealousy and discord that were present, not merely in the existence of separate Courts, but also in the differences of character, habits, traditions and religion amongst the various Germanic races. The belief still haunted them that the Germans were an unpractical race likely to be led astray by their love for theories ill fitted to work a piece of political machinery more abnormal, if not more intricate than is either the British or the American constitution. The events belied the prediction. (Bryce.) And the petty and divided states of the Rhine were transformed into the great industrial and united Germany of to-day only through the regeneration of a sense of national consciousness, through the realisation of the idea that they are all a united nation of brothers.

The English themselves are a composite race. The British Isles are no less a crucible of nations than the North American continent. "Aboriginal Briton, conquering Roman, marauding Pict, devastating Saxon, piratical Dane, plundering Norseman and civilizing Norman were all used up in the blend labelled English. Long after the English stock emerged from the crucible of war it was continually improved by the addition of foreign elements. French Huguenots, German Emigrants, fugitive Jews, Dutchmen and Spaniards, all added more or less a foreign strain to our English

blood. The mixing of Welsh and Irish, Scotch and English, Celts of the Highland and Danes of Northumberland which has gone on for centuries and is going on to-day has produced a type which is being reproduced on a gigantic scale and with infinite modification across the Atlantic. That they are not the same but diverse is a matter of course. There is no such thing as a common race even in England, let alone the United States. We are all conglomerates with endlessly varying constituents". (Stead.) Moreover in England people of certain races have laboured under certain disabilities which have already been described. All these differences are to be met with in a nation which is but 40 million strong, and how many more may there not be amongst a people who number over nine times as many? Again in India, barring an infinitesimal minority amongst a fifth of the population which is Muslim, nearly four fifths of the people and nine tenths of the Muslims themselves are distinctly Indian and can claim purity of race in the largest measure the wide world over. Of course, there is hardly a people or nation on earth which can lay claim to absolute purity of race or of blood, but if there is one which has preserved it in greater measure than any another, it is doubtless the Indian.

III

The Unity of Indian Life

An attempt has been made in the foregoing sections to show that the time-honoured pre-requisites to nationality are fairly well satisfied by the conditions of Indian life and the Indian National movement is

not on that account doomed to a premature death. That, on the contrary, the movement may look forward to many a year of noble strife and honourable success appears warrantable from the discovery of the profound unity in the life and culture of the Indians from one end of the country to the other. The first treasure of a nation, it has been said, is geographical distinctness—a common territory which they could look upon as a common home of their nationality and which the Indians possess in a remarkable manner, enclosed as they are, by the vast blue expanse on three sides of their motherland with the mountain chain at the head. They have further developed a type of civilization that stands clearly marked off from the neighbouring race types of culture, Mongolian and Semitic, and the people of the country all over have their thoughts and ideals, their daily life and conduct, their instincts of home and country, developed and influenced by the same dominant features of their national culture—viz. “the suppression of the self for the family, the annihilation of the individual before the universal.”

What is true Indianism and where does it reside? Well may we apply to it what has been said of Americanism. “Not on the tongue nor in the clothes nor among the transient social forms, rude or refined, which mottle the surface of human life. The cottage has no monopoly of it, nor is it an immovable fixture of the stately pillared mansion. Its home is not on the frontier, nor in the populous city, nor among the trees of the wild forest, nor among the cultured groves of academy. Its dwelling is in the heart. It speaks

a score of tongues but one language, follows a hundred paths to the same goal, performs a thousand kinds of service in loyalty to the same ideal which is its life".

In the intense love of home and lofty pride of race, in the depth of domestic affections admixed with a high regard for age, in the ungrudging subordination of the cravings of the sensuous life to the demands of the ethical ideal, Indian life presents a wonderful unity of character which does not meet the eye of the foreigner in its first or hundred and oneth glance. Close examination of the social customs and religious observances, of the manner of dress and the system of diet discovers a clear variety of conditions in the different parts of the country. If there were not this variety, we should not be seeking for unity, we would be confronted with a dull uniformity from end to end. National pilgrimages and festivals are still another factor that serve to standardize the emotional development of the race. The mortification of the flesh as a means of salvation is the recognized form of observance of most sacred days, and this coupled with long marches to distant places of interest, noted for natural beauty or works of art, has always given a point to the Hindu ideal of life and faith. Some of the festivals are purely astronomical and based upon common scientific truths of equal value to people of different parts of the country. It is the turning of the Equinoxes that make two days in the year particularly sacred. The eclipse of the Moon is responsible for the observance of a special fast on a particular Full Moon day, and the eclipse of the Sun, on a parti-

cular New Moon day. Some festivals mark the change of seasons,—events common to the whole country. The New Year's day whether calculated according to the Lunar or the Solar movement, is one of particular interest and forms a day of profound rejoicing. Many festivals commemorate the lives of national heroes, saints and martyrs who are aequally respected all over the different parts of the country. On one day of national rejoicing is celebrated, from Ayodhya to Rameswar, the birth day of the greatest of Indian Kings. Ten days in the year are set apart for the celebration of the victory of the most virile of our ancient heroes. Almost every day in the Indian Calender has sacred memories clinging round it and is fittingly celebrated once every year. Almost every river and mountain and the sea have sacred traditions gathered around them and attract countless visitors once every year or cycle of years to call back those traditions to their minds. "Mother Earth, mother Cow and mother Ganges are common thoughts of the nursery, the market place and the cave. Indeed, the unity of thought, of belief and of sentiment is thousandfold greater than meets the eye of the spectator from abroad or strikes the imagination of the critic at home.

Ludlow in his celebrated work—*Thoughts on the policy of the Crown in India* wrote in 1858:—

"The states, the races, the creeds of India are not shut up from one another, by impossible barriers. Although an Indian Nationality in the true sense of the term does not exist, still the feeling that India is one country spreads from C. Comorin to the Himalayas. The mixture of creeds, the scattered shrines

and places of pilgrimage tend strongly to keep up this feeling. The Buddhist of the Himalaya of the Eastern Frontier of Bengal knows well that from Magadha went forth Pali, his sacred language, that the monuments of his faith are scattered throughout the whole of India, that Ceylon is still one of its living seats. The wandering Brahman from the North paves his way to Malabar with the water of the Ganges. The great Hindu Bania has correspondents on whom he will give bills from Peshawar to Cochin. The holy places around C. Comorin attract Rajput pilgrims from the North-west. Mussalmans from every quarter of India crowd yearly to its western coast to start upon the Haj or pilgrimage to the holy places of Arabia. Even the Sikh from the Punjab is attracted to the Deccan by the burial place of his prophet hero, Govind, at Nuderah on the Godavery. The sacred legends of the Hindu have the whole of India for their theatre. The subject of one of his great epics, the Ramayana, is the rescuing by the Oudh hero, Rama, of his wife from the clutches of the demon ruler of Ceylon. The historic traditions of the Mussulman have nearly as wide a field. This feeling has been observed so widely that when Lord Lake had failed at the siege of Bhuratpore, the tradition of his defeat impressed upon the natives (to quote the words of Mr. Wilson,) "Whether prince or people the conviction that Bhuratpore was the bulwark of the liberty of India and destined to arrest the march of European triumph." Even in the Karnatic, the saying had gone abroad that "India was not yet conquered for Bhuratpore had not been taken".

The basal unity of the Hindu culture has not failed to influence the course of the culture of other faiths in India. Sister Nivedita remarks that "Sufism with its role of saints and martyrs contributes to Moham-medans a phase of development which matches Hinduism in its highest forms. With the Hindus and Moham-medans alike, love of home, pride of race, idealism of woman, is a passion. With every one devotion to India as Indian finds some characteristic expression. To the Hindu of all provinces his Motherland is the seat of holiness, the chosen home of righteousness, the land of seven sacred rivers, the place to which sooner or later must come all souls in quest of God. To the sons of Islam the earth is the dust of his saints. She is the seal upon his greatest memories. Her villages are his home. In her future lies his hope."

In the field of civic and national activities we do not notice any great antagonism between the two races. The Mogul Kingdom had always been administered by Hindu nobles and statesmen. From the days of Sebaktagin up to the time of the present Nizams of Hyderabad, positions of trust and responsibility have been uniformly held by Hindu Generals and administrators. The national economic system had not been disturbed by the Moslem rulers,—seldom indeed did victor Moslem enforce his creed upon his vanquished rival. The continuity of national life had in no way suffered. As has been most aptly remarked, "The diverse peoples of India are like the parts of some magic puzzle seemingly impossible to fit together but falling easily into place when once the key is known," and the key is the realization of the fact that

the parts do fit together. This key we call national self-consciousness.

Types of civilizations do exist and in India they have existed side by side for centuries together, during which they have only enriched each other's culture and augmented each other's influence in the development of national character. Though each had its cradle outside this land, all have formed India their home. They have lived and grown up together and well may they continue to live and grow, conscious of their common interests and labouring in a common spirit.

CHAPTER THREE

Indian Nationalism, its Destruction and Results

The concept of Nationalism is not more than a century old. It had its birth in mid-victorian politics. Even if it could be proved then that it was not a live and operative force in India till recently, one could not either quarrel with the criticism or blame India for it. Just as Nationalism was flowerng and fruiting in Europe, India passed under the yoke of a foreigner whose interest was adverse to the development, in the country of their subjection, of those integrating forces which had shaped national life in their own Motherland. During the ascendancy of the Maharatta rule which found its end in 1818 the country was well nigh brought under the uniting sway of Nationalistic principles and was very nearly a confederacy but before it had time to fructify in full, it fell a prey to the machinations of European powers. The English and the French who were always on hostile terms in Europe, and whose European hostilities reflected themselves in India both on land and sea, sided different princes in this ancient land in their internecine quarrels. Whether it was Scindia and Holkar in the North or Hyder and the Nawab of Karnatic in the South, there were the English and the French to side with one or the other and the internal divisions became deeper and wider and India became the battle-

ground not only as between indigenous rulers but also as between foreign aggressors. By the forties of the 19th century even the Sikh ascendancy was put down and the British began to ride roughshod over the rights of the Princes. The Rani of Jhansi, and the Rajas of Bedar, Satara and Nagpur, deprived of their rights of adoption, saw no means of emancipation except armed revolt and with the aid of the soldiery began the first War of Indian Independence. Hardly had the boom of the war guns subsided in 1857 when in the succeeding year, the British sought to consolidate their power, by making their conquest of India not merely territorial but also intellectual, psychological and moral (immoral). It was the mind of India that had to be conquered and the spirit of India that required to be subdued. How else could this be effected than by a process of Vansittartism which was not a new idea of Lord Vansittart when it was sought to be applied to the re-education of the Germans after World War III, in 1945 but had really taken origin with Bentinck and Amharest and Dalhousie and Canning and Sir Charles Wood before the fifties of the 19th century ended. In 1858, then, the British did not strengthen their forts, or multiply their soldiery or add to their munitions, but they carved out new forts, recruited a new soldiery and fashioned new weapons. The forts were the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The soldiery were the graduates whose training and disciplines were to be completed within the barracks of those Universities. The weapons were the sharp pens and the sharper tongues that these graduates were taught to employ after years of instruction within

the portals of their seminaries. The Universities of 1858 were quickly followed by the High Courts in 1860 and the Legislatures in 1861. The graduates of the Colleges were directed towards the four learned professions of Law, Engineering, Medicine and Teaching. They became exponents of British Legal Institutions, based upon common law, customary law, codified law and case law. They attained eminence in the art and science of western medicine, surgery, obstetrics and ophthalmology. They imbibed the principles and practice of western Engineering,—civil and mechanical, motor and electrical, mining and metallurgical, marine and aerial, chemical and chemurgical. They mastered the basal doctrines of western education and educational outlook, western sciences and scientific methods, western philosophy and psychology. The rest of the alumni went into Government services and became armed with authority to hang their own brothers on the gallows and put their wives in jails. Seemingly all power passed to the children of the soil. To all intents and purposes, the sons and daughters of the land became educated, civilized and even cultured. English was the medium of instruction, the language of the Courts and the vehicle of correspondence. Accounts were maintained according to English Book-keeping. Local Bodies and Co-operative organizations drew up their minutes in English. The Manuals of departmental administration and the standing rules and orders of Government were all in English. The unsophisticated citizen, not versed in western lore, and not decorated with the letters of the English alphabet, was looked upon as uneducated, ignorant and super-

stitious. People, notably the Hindus in the earlier years, began to flock to English schools and colleges, imbibe western culture, pass English examinations and attain English degrees. They held posts, drew salaries, enjoyed pensions and bedecked themselves with titles conferred upon them by the English. They were beholden to the English for education and culture, posts and prosperity, honours and titles. They became the second line reserve of the Britisher's defence forces in India. The new British citadel became protected by a series of seven *Prakarams*, the first being the army, the second being Government Officers, the third, fourth and fifth being the Colleges, Courts and Councils, the sixth being the Local Bodies and the seventh being the titled aristocracy. Villages soon grew to be towns or the inhabitants of the village migrated to towns in search of urban civilization and prosperity. Manual labour began to be looked down upon while the Secretariat and public offices with their chairs and tables, their punkas and platforms, their peons and dewans became an irresistible and ever inviting attraction. India passed through the same mental changes under England as Briton had passed under Rome in the early centuries of the Christian era.

That was not all. The very foundation of the Indian social system, the village, became invaded. While the Brahmans in the South, Deccan and the Kayasthas in the North East were drawn into Colleges and Courts and Councils, and became vehement supporters of British rule in India, while they became the intermediaries between the Indian students and the British professors, between the Indian clients and the

British Judges, between the Indian tax-payers and the British bureaucrats, the germs of denationalization soon attacked the village arts and crafts and made the carpenter and the smith, the spinner and the weaver, the potter and the cobbler, the dhobie and the barber, the priest and the physician, as much the upholder of British commerce and industry as the Universities had earlier made their alumni the protagonists of British education and culture. The carpenter yearned for the British-made chisels and hammers, saws and borers and thus ruined the craft of the smith, while all the while complaining that the Municipalities were employing Dunlop tyres for scavenging carts, so depriving him of his wages due on a pair of wooden wheels which had been thus replaced. The smith complains against the carpenter for not using the tools made by him, but himself uses glass tumblers thus ruining the craft of the potter. The potter who has a grouse against the smith on this account, himself ruins his neighbour, the cobbler and wears Bata shoes. The cobbler is hurt to the bone by the potter's conduct, yet wears a piece of Mull, thus ruining the weaver. The weaver who feels thus injured, complains that his handloom does not get enough of machine-made yarn, but does not deign to accept the handspun yarn of his old mother and his widowed sister. These two while complaining against the weaver in their own family, themselves wear Japanese fabrics and ruin the whole country. Little do they realize that it is only when the circulation of money is kept intact in the village by the carpenter using the smith's tools, the smith drinking out of the potter's cups, the potter

wearing the cobbler's shoes, the cobbler putting on the weaver's dhoties, the weaver using the old woman's yarn, the old woman feeding the teacher by her grand-children's schooling, the teacher sustaining the trade of the grocer and his group of merchants, the merchants feeding the Post Master and the Post Master serving the village, that it is only then that the wealth of the village is conserved and augmented. Instead, the education in schools and colleges has compelled an unwritten contract between the parents of scholars and the British manufacturers to the tune of Rs. 10,000, from the day of their initiation into the alphabet to the day of their convocation and degree taking. Every article used by them is of foreign make. The text books, the paper and pencils, the fountain pens and ink, the rubber and the colour box, the compasses and the footrulers, the bats and the balls, the cues and the rackets, the hockey and the cricket, the football and the polo ball, the volley ball and the ring tennis, the badminton and the shuttle-cock, the pins and tags, the clips and the cardboards, the files and fastners, the camera and the chemicals, the frames and the glass, the brass rings and the twine and the nails on which the photoes are hung, the sofas and chesterfield, the revolving chairs and the Queen Anne chairs, the spring cots and the air cushions, the fashions and the fabrics, the brooches and the bodkins, the hair pins and the ribbons, the belts and the braces, the garters and the laces, the boots and the socks, the watches and chains, the clocks and the time-keepers, the carpets and the rugs,—all, all are foreign imported or if of India-machine made.

While the villagers are going to the industry, industry must be taken to the village, where justice must be taken to the village and be made quick, certain, and cheap, locally, the villagers are forced to seek justice at a distance and that tardy and expensive. The indigenous standards of truthfulness, the force of public opinion which can operate only locally and not at a distance, the artificial ways of eliciting and evaluating evidence under a foreign Evidence Act, have all placed a premium upon lying and made it both a science and art. The oath administered in the witness box in Courts has conferred a licence to speak untruth with impunity and the wooden bars of the box in which the witness stands have come to serve as insulators against the magnetic currents of Truthfulness which must be eternally flowing around him in a court of Justice. The system of education has manufactured slaves and automatons unable to drive a nail into a wall or know which side a screw has to be turned, to be tightened. Education has become divorced from the needs of the nation while administration of justice has been divorced from its high and uplifting traditions. A veil of mystery through the English language has come to be drawn between the man that toils and moils and the officer that rules over him, between the cultivator that sweats and bleeds and the exploiter who sucks his life blood, between the builder and the weaver, and the denizens of houses and the wearers of fabrics. The masses have come to be separated from the so-called classes and an unbridgeable chasm has come into being in between. The country itself has been carved up into 11 provinces and 562 States,

by vertical cuts, into Hindus, Muslims, Christians Parsis, Jains and Jews by horizontal cuts, into the urban and the rural by transverse cuts, and into the scheduled and non-scheduled classes by oblique cuts. It is the British that have forged these differentiations, and then they tell us that we are divided by rival religious and warring faiths, by undying jealousies and ever abiding antagonisms. Having deliberately adopted the policy of '*Divide and Rule*' from the time of Lord Metcalf, having fostered communal rivalries and even communal riots, it ill befits the foreigners in the land to obscure the fundamental unity that lies at the root of the Indian life, and to interpose obstacles in the way of their reunion, by quoting these differences as a bar sinister to the fulfilment of Indian nationalism through a scheme of Indian Federation composed of the Provinces and the States. It is the folly of those led by those masters to repeat their goody goody nonsense and plead for the prevention or postponement of the long deferred fulfilment of national ideals. The need of the hour, is to recognize the fundamental nature of the Indian problem as related to the artificial endeavours of the rulers to divide those whom God hath united and to overbear the sections so created where they are unable to defeat the whole.

CHAPTER FOUR

Indian Nationalism

Its destruction and results X-rayed

For decades, nay for over a century and a half the charge has been brought against the British, notwithstanding the much advertised benefits that are claimed to have flowed from their rule in India, that they have disorganized Indian Economics, destroyed the rural basis of Indian national life and implanted outlandish tastes in the hearts of the Indian people. Nothing better could be expected when two races, two civilizations, two nations came into contact with one another, for the contact was bound to develop into a conflict and in such a conflict the apostles of brute force were bound to gain the upper hand though for the time being. Britain is essentially an Industrial Nation. Only seven per cent of the English people is agricultural and only five weeks' food is grown within the limits of Britain. Under the circumstances the character of the people must largely be shaped by the geographical and economic conditions that surround them. They become men of commerce, captains of industry, migrate far and wide, establish colonies and dependencies and lord it over others for their own advancement. It was thus that Britain established an Empire,—some say deliberately, others suggest,

inadvertently. Anyway, there it is, with all its glory and all its grab. Britain's conquest of India has been as much economic as intellectual, as much commercial as cultural. Yet for long the Indian had been captivated by the external polish of English manners and methods, by the superficial view of the benefits to India with which British rule has been associated. It were unnecessary to reiterate them here. Suffice it to say that beneath the surface veneer of education and culture, there has been an imperceptible and even insidious destruction of Indian arts and crafts and the burden thrown upon land has become unbearable. The Indians who are brought up on the traditions of the four *VARNAS* are unable to realise that an Englishman can now be an officer and now a merchant, now be a soldier and now a civilian, now be in England and now in India. In England the biggest politicians and statesmen are recruited from the class of merchants who have amassed wealth and turn to politics for a while or for a whole life. The law of primogeniture gives their property only to the eldest son and therefore wealth is conserved. Mills and factories are erected and commercial magnates become peers of the realm and officers in the army. Some junior sons become Managing Directors of companies and others become Governors of colonies. The rest gravitate into civil and diplomatic services. It is thus that in India we come across officials who are closely connected with some of the famous commercial firms and industrial houses of Britain.

Lord Derby is the biggest cotton King of England and he had two sons—Lord Stanley who was Under-

Secretary of State for India (since died) and Oliver Stanley (President of the Board of Trade, and later Secretary for colonies). The two brothers held office in Whitehall and could sign an Indo-British Trade Agreement each sitting on either side of the table. The agreement was in favour of their father Lord Derby, Lancashire Textile mill owner. Their uncle Sir George Stanley was the Governor of Madras (1925-30) and during that very time, their niece's husband (Lord Derby's daughter's daughter's husband) Lord Irwin, was the Viceroy. When Lord Reading retired from the Viceroyalty of India, he became the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the South African Mining Syndicate on £15,000 a year, and Lord Birkenhead, who was already drawing a pension as Lord Chancellor, and had then become Secretary of State for India, became the Managing Director of the Greater London Country Trust, Limited. Lord Willingdon's wife was interesting herself in the spread of Sunbeam Cars in Madras in 1921-25, which were manufactured by her father, Count Brassey, while Lord Willingdon himself when he was Viceroy, was popularizing Hillman Cars for which his son was the Agent. Sir Alexander Steel Maitland, Sir Eric Geddes, Mr. Mackenna and a host of other ministers were all commercial men connected with Mail Steam Packet Company, Agricultural Implements Company, Midland Bank and so on. Lord Linlithgow on retirement from the Indian Viceroyalty became the Director of the Midland Bank. Sir Basil Blackett, the Indian Finance Member 1924-28 and Sir George Schuster, his successor, were both connected with notable English Banks.

Indeed, out of 470 members of the House of Lords in the twenties of this century 412 members were connected with various commercial and industrial firms as Directors, Managing Directors or Chairmen of the Boards of Directors. Mr. Baldwin, the Premier was himself a hardware merchant and several notable statesmen were newspaper magnates. Lord Lloyd was connected with Thomas Cook and Son, Lord Inchcape with a big Shipping Co. while Lord Goschen, Governor of Madras, was a Director of Insurance Companies before coming to India. It would be easy, but superfluous to cite numerous other instances to show how the English statesmen, officers, diplomats and merchants and industrialists simply exchanged places and Britain's interest in India lay and lies in the commercial and industrial gains she can secure in her Indian Empire. Sir Joyson Hicks (Lord Brentford) who was the Home Secretary in England frankly deprecated the tall talk of the missionaries about civilizing India and admitted that the Englishmen were (and are) here for trade. The same admission has been made by Mr. Churchill and numerous other statesmen of England. Sir Stafford Cripps stated in 1944 that Britain must increase her exports abroad by 50% in order to be able to maintain her standard of life. Mr. Churchill's Mansion House speech (Nov. 9, 1943) in which he said " we must hold our own. I have not been the King's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire ", clinches the British objective in India. His father, Lord Randolph Churchill had spoken of India as part of the British Empire, " the possession of which more than that of

all the rest had raised in power and in resources, in wealth, and in authority our small island above the majority of Nations and States". Churchill himself had stated during the debate on the Government of India Bill (1935):—"To transfer that responsibility, to this highly artificial and restricted oligarchy of Indian politicians would be a retrograde act of cowardice, desertion and dishonour". Earlier in 1933, appearing before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, Mr. Churchill had said:—"Dominion Status which has never meant any period in which this hope (of a Dominion constitution for India) can be achieved, is one which living men will not see". He had the ill-grace to say on 30-9-44 in Parliament "Once again India and her vast population have reposed serenely amongst the tumults and hurricanes of the world, behind the British Shield (*Cheers*)."

The fundamental problem of Indian politics, in one of its manifold aspects, demands the immediate release of Britain's stranglehold on Indian economics. The fact is that the British Empire has only 76 million white population of which 46 millions are in the British Isles. Yet it is but a third of America's. Britain's national income is only a fifth of U. S. A's. Before World War No. I, the United Kingdom was the world's leading creditor. She was in 1944 and is in 1946, a debtor nation. Britain has parted with 4 billions of dollars of overseas assets to pay for World War No. II. U.S.A. has taken 90% of the last assets. Britain is therefore greatly weakened while U.S.A. is greatly strengthened. But Britain has 500 million people in the Empire and until lately, had unques-

tioned leadership. Above all Britain has domestic unity on the post war problem. Therefore 'capture post war trade' is Britain's objective.

The introduction of machinery, like the imports of machine goods has served to promote unemployment in the country by reason of its labour saving devices. A spinning and weaving mill produces 5,000 lbs. of cloth or 15,000 square yards which it would take 1000 weavers to produce. Seventy-two crores worth of cloth would mean 216 crores of yards and deprive a crore and a half of weavers of their profession with another half crore of artisans engaged in the ancillary crafts of printers, dyers and dhobies, while the spinners thrown out of work would come up to over 10 crores. Thus unemployment and poverty came in the wake of machine products. The rice and Ata mills have deployed about 2 crores and likewise ginning factories, oil mills, pressing factories and so on. The western civilization has thus thrown back the villagers on agriculture and augmented the burden on land. Having thus attained ascendancy over the mind and morals of the nation, having subdued its prowess and its spirit, the British in India proceeded to effect an economic conquest of the land, reducing its position to that of a hewer of wood and drawer of water. The British set foot in India when they saw how the Dutch were making 300 per cent profits over the cloves trade. They too acquired little tracts of land in Surat, Masulipatam and Madras, built little depots which they called 'factories' but they had neither engines, nor machinery in the 17th century. They brought scissors and knives and broad cloth and gave them in exchange

for the fine Khaddar that they had brought of the weavers and the traders in India. A perusal of the District Gazetteers gives an insight into the nature of these transactions which were extensive and profitable. The silks of Murshidabad and the Muslims of Dacca proved a great attraction to the people in England and Queen Anne was taunted for allowing the Calico under her feet to mount up to her loins.. Daniel Defoe wrote satires as to what the weavers of wool should do when once the silks of Bengal began to be adopted by the squires and knights of England. Parliament itself took stringent measures to punish people that wore Indian silks with a fine of £5, people that sold them with a fine of £25 and people that draped the dead with shrouds other than woollen with a fine of £5. The Officials of the East India Company were themselves engaged in personal and private trade and compelled the weavers in India, with the growth of their political influence to part with their goods for a song. This was the reason why some of the silk weavers of Murshidabad cut their own thumbs to avoid being compelled to weave for the company (if the story is true that they cut their own thumbs). The export trade in handspun handwoven cloth of India went on till 1803 when for the first time the current of export and import took a reverse direction and 3 lakhs worth of English cloth was imported into India. That was just 20 years after the invention of the steam engine and the application of power to the spinning wheel and the Jenny Home Crafts in England gave place to machine products which when imported into India ruined Indian fabrics and other hand products rapidly. For the 3 lacs cloth

imported in 1803 became 29 lakhs in 1829 and 72 crores in 1929. That meant the unemployment of two million weavers and 3 or 4 crores of spinners, dyers, bleachers and printers.

In 1852 the first spinning and weaving mill began to be constructed by one Mr. Davar and in 1853 the British wrested the Berars from the Nizam under the ugly pretext of "debt overdue".* and Dalhousie wrote early in 1854 that Berars were only the gateway to the cotton producing area of Nagpur which fell to the British in February 1854 under conditions equally ugly.

Other machine Industries such as ricemills (shelling and hulling), ginning, oil expressing, all these have added crores more of the unemployed to the population of India.

Few people are able to divine the disastrous consequences that have followed in the wake of the insidious methods in force over a century and half in disorganizing the national life of India. The very name of the country has been changed. Towns and Railway Stations, rivers and mountains have come to be spelt in a manner which betrays the bias of the foreign language in scanning the indigenous sounds. The tradition of the country that lay imbedded for centuries in the current names of men and places became obscured by the new nomenclature which a foreign nation has introduced. The economic and ethical reactions of foreign rule are as sad to contemplate as they are difficult of scrutiny. The main elements that bear witness to good government have been

**For full details of this ugly deal see author's "Economic conquest of India".*

conspicuous by their absence from a study of India's solid economic progress under the British. Have the people enough food, enough clothing, enough water, enough housing, enough education and enough medication?—these are the questions, by the answers to which, the spirit and the effects of the rule over a country must be judged. Till recent years, i.e. till the thirties of the 20th century, India has not heard of the contents of a balanced diet in relation to the food of the nation as a whole. Students of physiology are in theory acquainted with the proportions of nitrogenous, fatty and carbonaceous foods in diet and on the top of them, the importance of metallic contents supplied through vegetables, fruit and vegetables, fruit and milk. The study of their calorific value is a later addition to the study of this subject of ever-growing interest. Who can say that the average Indian diet is composed of the right proportion of cereals to pulses, of sugar to fruit and vegetables, of fats and oils to milk or to nitrogenous animal foods like fish, eggs and meat? The calorific value of the hard working Indian's diet which ought to be strictly 3,600, and which on an average may be allowed to be reckoned at 2,600, is not in fact anything over 1,600 or even 960 according to one account. When the general statement is made that one fifth of the nation subsists on but one meal a day, the gravity of the position is not adequately realized for it means much more than it seems to imply; because really the majority of the population don't get even one scientifically correct, i.e. a full meal a day inasmuch as India produces only a little over half of its requirement

of food. What a tragedy in society, what a blunder in science, it is to have to say that the food equivalent per diem per capita is only 1,600 calories (even if it is so much) which is short of the minimum by a third. If we can indulge in a little of hypothetical mathematics, it means, as it has been well calculated that if the available calorific equivalent is so distributed as to give a portion of the population its full demand of 2,800 (2,600 plus 200 for waste) then, a little less than a third of the total population should be deemed to be wholly starved. This is the meaning of the common dictum, current from the time of Dadabhai Naoroji that a fifth of the population lives on only one meal a day. It is a pity that a country like India should be producing only $\frac{5}{7}$ of its food requirements. A great authority, Sir W. Hunter, a great son of that country which has a large concern in our Export Trade, remarks :—

“ The food grains which are exported in such a large quantity are generally supposed to represent the surplus left after meeting the requirements of the country. It may, however, be alleged with some truth, that if the whole population ate as much as they could, the surplus would not exist. The grain exports of India represent many hungry stomachs in India.”

If the Jute of Bengal, the Virginia tobacco of Andhra, a portion of cotton and groundnut crop, should be regulated and replaced at least to the tune of $\frac{4}{5}$ of the area so cultivated, by paddy or malze, millet and ragi, then there would be no food problem.

If the toddy of palmyra, date and cocoanut trees is made into sugar and the sugar plantations yield place to paddy crop, there will be an additional source of food grains. No. India's food is neglected and its resources have been exploited through its foreign Trade. The exploitation of India has been proved by some tell-tale figures by Kali Charan Ghosh which we extract from the columns of the *Hindustan Standard*.

“Textile, cotton and silk, formed the chief item of export in ancient India and it maintained a reputation for excellence bordering on mystery up till the days of the East India Company.

“In an unfair competition where a strong political arm ruthlessly strangled the economic life of a conquered people, Indian textile industry gave way under pressure of foreign imports, mainly from the United Kingdom. It has been a long and arduous task to snatch away a portion of the profit derived from the trade from greedy foreign exploiters with the help of indigenous industries, based on the model of the Western countries and the tables of “textiles” relate our present position with regard to imports from foreign countries.

“For the sake of convenience, in dealing with a large number of items of imports, the chemical industries have been brought under the scope of this group, which also present a dismal picture of foreign exploitation of crores of rupees each year. It is better that our industrialists focus their attention to industries allied to chemical engineering without delay.

Textile-Cotton :—India noted throughout the world from pre-historic times for fineness and unequalled craftsmanship in cotton textile commodities, which had been once the principal item of export, now pays heavily to foreigners to clothe her people. Cotton manufactures were imported before the war at a cost running into several crores of rupees. These are the figures :—

1937-38	..	..	Rs. 15,55,28,307
1938-39	..	..	Rs. 14,15,27,167
1939-40	..	..	Rs. 14,94,73,000

“ Compared with the figures for 1920-21 when we paid for woven goods Rs. 88.54 lakhs yarn, Rs. 13.58 lakhs, i.e. a total of Rs. 102.12 lakhs in a single year,—the position is much better, the major portion of this huge import having been wiped out by products of indigenous mills. But the situation deserves the closest watch of our industrialists and the common people.

“ There has been a remarkable progress in the number of cotton mills in India during the last forty years. We must not forget that this is due not to any substantial or material help from the Government but due to the spirit of Swadeshi inculcated by the anti-partition movement in Bengal and the two India-wide political agitations, viz., the non-co-operation and the civil disobedience movements. During the Swadeshi movement (1906-10) no less than sixty-six new mills were established to meet the growing demands for Swadeshi goods. In the days of the non-co-operation movement (1921-25) eighty four new

mills were brought into being. The civil disobedience movement broke the backbone of foreign imports and the result achieved exceeded the wildest expectations. Please mark the decline :—

1929-30	..	..	Rs. 59,49 lakhs.
1930-31	..	..	Rs. 25,24 lakhs.
1934-35	..	..	Rs. 21,76 lakhs.

“There has been a gradual decline in imports ever since.

“In 1943 there were 396 cotton spinning and weaving mills with 10,026,425 spindles and 200,170 looms. There is still a great scope for expansion because the Indian average consumption of cotton textiles is much below the world average.

“Total Indian production in 1943-44 was 4842.4 million yds.

“*Textile-Wool* : India's mastery and skill in the manufacture of shawls, jamisars, lohies, etc. is now a story of the past and the land was ready to receive a shower of foreign goods.

“The pre-war imports were :—

1937-38	..	..	Rs. 3,30,06,369
1938-39	..	..	Rs. 2,19,78,397
1939-40	..	..	Rs. 1,41,41,209

“In 1927-28 the value of imported goods were Rs. 3.98 lakhs. It seems that there is some improvement. But we must not forget our foreigner friends are manufacturing their goods in India. It is remarkable that even during the worst days of the war the imports did not cease.

1942-43	..	..	Rs. 28,53,488
1943-44	..	..	Rs. 8,14,785
1944-45	..	..	Rs. 44,32,267

*“Textile—Artificial Silk :—*Artificial silk, rayon, staple fibre is a synthetic product—a product of factories and is a great enemy of the natural fibres viz., cotton, silk, wool etc. Its use has increased from an index figure of 100 in 1930-31 to 432 in 1938-39 while for cotton it is 111, for wool 90 and silk 82, from 100 in 1930-31 for each class of these fibres.

“India has not escaped the influence of this marvellous growth of artificial silk in the world. The value of goods in the pre-war period stood as follows :—

1937-38	..	..	Rs. 4,87,48,684
1938-39	..	..	Rs. 2,23,61,749
1939-40	..	..	Rs. 4,58,62,302

The war intervened and imports declined. But we must realise our own position. A separate head was opened in the list of foreign imports in 1914-15 only and in the value reached in 1927-28 was Rs. 5.48 lakhs for all classes of art-silk goods. There is not a single art-silk factory in India but one at Tumkur, Mysore, promises goods during the course of the year 1946.

“It is a pity that India originally a land of plentiful and very productive silkworm has to import huge quantities of silk yarn and piecegoods from foreign lands. The pre-war figures disclose what a helpless condition we are still in.

1937-38	..	..	Rs. 1,90,90,280
1938-39	..	..	Rs. 1,31,98,024
1939-40	..	..	Rs. 1,19,49,054

"Indian silk had been—one of the chief articles of commerce of the E. I. Co., and the value of the goods swung between Rs. 100 and 150 lakhs a year. As late as 1875-76 the export of yarn only, excluding piece-goods, valued at Rs. 120 lakhs (4,731,000 lbs.) which has reached the level of Rs. 2 lakhs only in recent years. But the tragedy lies in the fact that imports of foreign yarn and piecegoods totalled more than Rs. 500 lakhs in 1920-21 and India has multivoltine worms that can give more than four crops a year.

"Chemicals

1942-43	..	..	Rs. 4,67,28,705
1943-44	..	..	Rs. 4,97,20,172
1944-45	..	..	Rs. 6,88,23,421

"The pre-war average was Rs. 3.63 lakhs a year. Given the opportunities and protection from foreign competition, the fairly big-sized fifty chemical factories of India are capable of at least partially obstructing free flow of foreign imports. The present annual Indian production is approximately Rs. 3,00 lakhs.

"Drugs and Medicines :

1942-43	..	..	Rs. 1,46,94,769
1943-44	..	..	Rs. 2,08,72,873
1944-45	..	..	Rs. 2,87,23,727

"Indian drugs and medicines suited to Indian conditions and physical constitution supplied our needs. The Britishers introduced their mode of medical education thereby laying the foundation of greater and greater imports of foreign medicines from their mother country to India. Some of the items under this head can be easily eliminated and it is not unlikely that foreigners would find a stiff competitor

in the indigenous manufacturers of India in the next few years.

Dyes from coal tar

1942-43	..	..	Rs. 3,97,80,897
1943-44	..	..	Rs. 7,06,85,241
1944-45	..	..	Rs. 6,41,27,178

Indian indigenous dyes not only met local requirements but were also exported to foreign markets. Lack of research has crippled us to an extent that necessitates import every year of about Rs. 7 crores worth of coal tar dyes alone. We have three fair-sized (one very big) coal tar recovery plants in India but none of them has the technical knowledge and skill of manufacturing dyes from coal tar. So long as both the science and the art of the process remain a sealed chapter to us we shall be acting as helpless onlookers of massive exploitation of Indian money.

Paints: In 1919-20 we imported Rs. 195 lakhs worth of paints and we have almost all the ingredients for manufacturing paints in India. Yet the import value is very heavy and with the foreigners bestirring themselves for sending their goods, the situation will be critical. There are about a dozen paint factories in India which partially met the demand of the Government during the war and there is every chance of losing the support of the same Government because foreigners can now compete with their commodity.

For paints and painters' materials the figures were :—

1937-38	.. ..	Rs. 1,01,85,992
1938-39	... ..	Rs. 83,98,853
1939-40	.. ..	Rs. 1,02,65,075

Out of this painters' materials account for 20% of the total.

" There is much scope for expansion and starting of new industries in India. We want technical knowledge, plants, initiative and enterprise.

" Provisions & Oilman's Stores :

1942-43	.. ..	Rs. 70,80,279
1943-44	.. ..	Rs. 55,42,982
1944-45	.. ..	Rs. 1,20,64,916

" Pre-war average was Rs. 2,91 lakhs a year. The pressure of war affected imports only to be resumed more vigorously than before on its close. Considering that biscuits, canned and bottled fruits, chocolate, confectionery, farinaceous and patent foods, jams and jellies, milk condensed and preserved, pickles, chutnies, sauces and condiments form the major part of the imports, it is sheer disgrace on the users of these commodities and a slur on the industrial enterprise of the entire people not to proceed feverishly with projects for ultimate stoppage of imports under this head.

GLASS & GLASSWARE :

1942-43	.. ..	Rs. 25,63,700
1943-44	.. ..	Rs. 15,77,244
1944-45	.. ..	Rs. 41,32,216

" Pre-war average was Rs. 1,26 lakhs. In 1919-20 the value was Rs. 3,38 lakhs ; which means we have advanced a lot in the face of the India Government's

stern refusal to grant 'protection'. There are 79 factories in India which turn out about Rs. 3,50 lakhs worth of goods a year. There still remains much to be done.

"The essential point is to know and note the facts of science relating to a minimum balanced diet.

Vegetables	..	16 Ozs.
Pulses	..	3
Sugar	..	2
Fruit	..	2
Vegetables	..	5
Fats & Oils	..	1.5
Whole milk or meat, fish & eggs	..	2.3

The Problem : The population of India is now about 400 millions. In eight years time it will be about 450 millions. How much more food will be required in 1953? The present production of rice, wheat, and other food grains is approximately 60 million tons per annum. The 1953 objective for food grains should therefore be :

For increased population	..	67.5 million tons
For 10 per cent increase in average diet	..	6.7 million tons

Total .. 74.2 million tons.

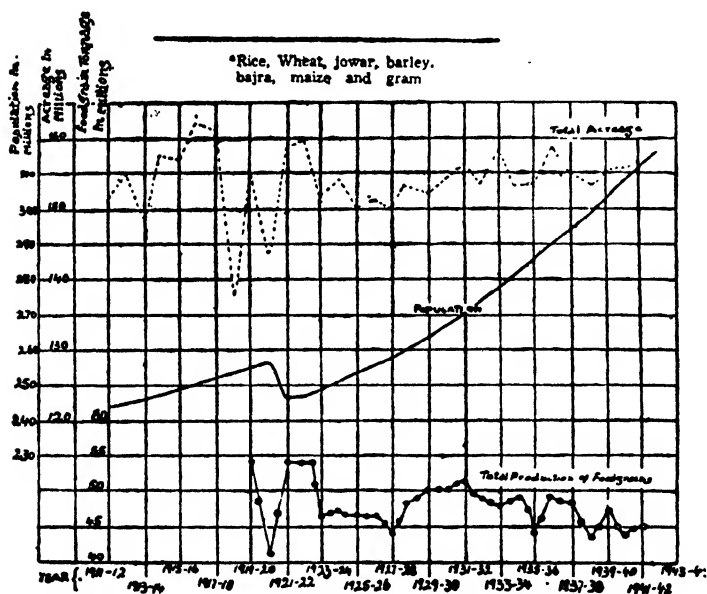
A further 14 million tons should, therefore, be produced in 1953.

We have analysed, as many other reports have done, the measures which can lead to increased production and have concentrated attention on five only,

(a) use of fertilizers and manures, (b) improvement of water supplies and erosion control, (c) use of improved varieties of seed (d) control of seed-borne disease and of stored grain pests (e) malaria control. —A food plan for India: Royal Institute of International Affairs.

The following table will be found highly interesting.

Population, Total Acreage and Total Production of Major Foodgrains in British India, 1911-41.



Clothing :

In 1925, India was getting only 13 yards per capita. Public opinion demands 30 yards per capita or 11,670 millions yards of cloth. We produced in the year of

the outbreak of the war only a half of our need on the latter scale. Compare these figures with those of world's consumption of textiles which was at the beginning of the 19th century 900 million kilogramms, in 1880—4,000 million kilogr., and in 1938—8,000 kilograms.

World's cotton production

1826-30	68,000 tons
1880	2 million tons
1912-13	4½ million tons.

Housing

It is a wellknown proposition of personal hygiene that every individual requires 3,000 C ft of fresh air, 120 Sq. feet of area. These figures are particularly difficult of attainment in big cities where the surface area available per capita ranges from a fourth to two fifths of the requirement.

Vital Statistics

The bane of India is its infantile mortality. For thousand children born 167 die in the first year. Naturally then this huge mortality reduces the expectancy of life to 26.91 amongst males and 26.56 amongst females, as against 60.60 amongst males and 64.50 amongst females in U. S. A. No one can wonder at this when we see how bad and inadequate protected water supply is in India and how poor are the facilities for the prevention and cure of disease.

It would be interesting for the same of comparison to incorporate here some figures relating to the world's various aspects of its socio-economic development. In British India only 253 out of 1471 towns enjoyed protected water supply in 1939. In the same

year it was found that there were only 7,300 hospitals (and dispensaries) with 74,000 beds which worked out to one hospital for 41,000 persons and one bed to 400 persons.

As for Doctors there were but 42,000 or one for 9,000 and there were only 4,500 nurses or one for 86,000, while in England there is one Doctor for 776 and one nurse for 435. When we consider how India has 660,000 villages, we can readily realise how there must be 660,000 Doctors and 1,320,000 nurses as our minimum need. For the towns again we shall require 5,400 hospitals having 40 beds each or 216,000 beds. In short, then, we require 7 lakhs of Doctors and 14 lakhs of Nurses.

There is loud and unjustifiable complaint that the rapid increase of India's population accounts for its growing social and economic ills. No, the boot is really on the other leg. It is the gross and unconscionable neglect by the authorities, who are the very people that offer this perverse criticism—of the ministrant functions of the State that accounts for this appalling state of health and hygiene. Werne Sombart points out in his '*New Social Philosophy*' how the world's population which was 180 millions in 1800 became 450 millions in 1940. With an increase of 270 millions in the 19th Century due to progress in Medicine and Hygiene, the death rate fell from 24 per mille to 12 and even without increase in birth rate population increased with the result that the old people increased and the race deteriorated.

In Germany the expectation of life rose from 38.48 in 1880 to 58.82 in 1924-26 while in France the corres-

ponding figures are 40.85 and 52.2—amongst men and in England and Wales 43.66 and 55.5 in 1921. Or take national wealth of England.

 In 1812 it was 2.7 billion £.

 1875 8.5 billion

 1914 15 billion

 In Germany it was

 1885 15 billion marks

 1895 25 billion marks

 1919 45 billion marks

 1930 70 billion marks

 The per capita consumption of Iron in Germany was

 In 1834-35 5.8 Kg.

 1891-95 100.2 Kg.

 1931 276.5 Kg.

 and of Coal which was in the beginning of the 19th century 15 Kg.

 middle of the 19th century 100 K.

 just before the war 2300 Kg.

 The figures relating to the Railway traffic are still more enlightening.

 Length of Railways in the World

 1840 7400 Km.

 1890 617000 Km.

 1910 103000 Km.

 1925 1206504 Km.

 Persons carried in mail coaches

 1834 1 million

 1900 850 million

 1929 2000 million

In Germany the automobiles worked at 1 for every 170 persons in 1927. While in Great Britain the figure was 1 for 43 persons and in U. S. A. it was 1 for 5 persons. In India it is 1 for 1400 persons. In 1939 there were 5 Motor Trucks for 1 lac of persons in India against 1200 in U. K. and 3300 in U. S. A.

Total number of cars in U. S. A. was

1895	3000
1910	468000
1926	22,947,000

Tonnage of vessels in Great Britain
in 1800 2.1 M. registered tons

1850	7.1
1900	49.1
1912	76.2

We need not waste time in looking for figures for India which comparatively stand zero.

In the domain of Education we have equally interesting figures. In India the percentage of literacy is 14.0 and the state spends Rs. 0-8-9 per capita which may be contrasted with Rs. 33.2 spent in Great Britain. India really needs two million teachers for every 50 or 60 pupils, for there are 165 to 200 grown ups to be educated still.

In the field of national income we are equally worse off. The total national income in 1931 estimated at 2800 crores of Rupees is Rs. 65 per capita per annum. It may have to be doubled at least in 15 years through the development of Roads, Agriculture, Industry, Electricity, balancing heavy against light industries while the overriding necessity for reviving cottage industries must claim the nation's first attention.

Equally urgent is the need to raise the agricultural produce by attention to seeds, loans, tools, cattle, wells and water sources, so that we can considerably augment the present yield per acre, of 784 of Rice, 717 of wheat, 90 lbs. of cotton and 2835 of sugarcane.

Our measures should aim at increasing the average Agricultural income by 50%, Industrial by 93% and Services by 129%.

Postal :—

U. S. A. loses every year 4 crores on Postage while India gains 4½ crores. While U. S. A. handles 29000 million letters and 218 million telegrams India handles 1575 million letters and 28 million telegrams.

Radio :—

In U. S. A. with a population less than half of India's there are 500 Radio transmitting stations while India has 13. In India 500 families have one radio while in Denmark 500 families 375 radios.

National Income :—

In Russia between 1913-37 it rose by 24%. In Japan by 135%. In Sweden by 69% In Australia by 63%. In U. K. by 32%. In U.S.A. by 25%. In Germany 9%. In France by 3%. In Holland there was a fall of 15%.

Land :—

In India 1/3 of the land belongs to the cultivator. In France 60%. In Germany 88%. In Switzerland 80%. In Czecho-Slovakia 90%. Electricity is the supreme need of the hour. In 1943 the output was 3500 million Kilowatt hours. In U.S.A. they use 180 times as much and in England 100 times as much as we do per head of population. Even in India it is the cities that use

up the electricity. Bombay and Calcutta using 47% and Cawnpore and Ahmedabad 50% of the total. Our potential of electric energy is really 27 millions of Horse Power, while so far we have only used up $\frac{1}{2}$ million of Horse Power.

Population :—

Professionally in India the population that depends upon Agriculture is 69 p.c., while in U.S.A. it is 27 p.c. and in U. K. it is 7 p.c. Industries contribute only 12 p.c. to our total income while Agriculture contributes 53 p.c. and it is hoped that after 15 years Industry will contribute 35 p.c. and Agriculture 40 p.c.

The percentage of working population now is 72 in Agriculture 15 in Industry, 13 in Services. While 15 years hence it is hoped the figures will be 58, 26, and 16 respectively.

Roads :—

The road mileage in India is 0.2 and in Japan 3 miles to the square mile. Australia stays first for a lac population they have 9000 miles of Road while India has 200 or $\frac{1}{45}$ of Australia's. Out of the one million miles of Road of the world's highways, India has a half million and Britain a quarter of a million.

A direct result of the economic disintegration of the country for over a century and a half has been the frequency of famines in this God favoured tropical land where a seed of grain cast to the winds becomes embedded in the soil and bears a rich harvest. Yet we have suffered from want which during the war reached its peak level and carried away millions on account of the man-made famine, while all these years it has been the boast of the people that the balance of trade

had been in our favour in a glut of exports.

In this connection, Lallubhai Shamaldas wrote in 1920 :—

“If they ever take trouble only to have a glance at the following figures and pity their countrymen from the bottom of their hearts they shall have to come to the real conclusion that Export of raw materials is nothing but exporting their own land ; in fact, is nothing but depriving a large continent like India of its strength, vitality and longevity. They shall have again to recognize that the largest import, obtained against such export, is nothing but the means of their luxuries, enjoyments of frail life. They will again see that if the present day cultivator under the clutches of rich capitalists is compared with the strong and independent man of the past, he will be found as a sad victim of the profiteering rich men :—

11th century	—	2 famines	13th century	—	1 famine
15th	„	— 2 „	16th	„	— 3 „
17th	„	— 3 „	18th	„	— 4 „
18th	„	1st 25 years —5 famines—10	„	„	Lacs died
19th	„	2nd „ —2	„	2	„
19th	„	3rd „ —6	„	50	„
19th	„	4th „ —18	„	2½	Crores died.

The Bazar rate of India from 1700 to 1919 (Seer per Rupee)

A.D.	Rice.	Dal.	Wheat.	Juwar	Ghee.
1700	70	60	30	—	4
1725	45	30	22	—	4½
1750	50	35	18	—	3½
1775	27	36	36	—	2½
1800	38	58	36	—	3½
1825	40	55	36	—	3½
1850	28	35	45	7½	3
1875	28	35	21	30	2½
1900	13	18	15	22	2½
1919	5	5	7	13	5/8

No wonder that this has been so. The new civilization brings with it a lot of unknown evils. With trade follows territory : with the flag comes the exploitation. The same writer (Lallubhai Samaldas) has some very interesting observations to make on this pseudo-prosperity so much lauded by the foreigners.

"The tramp" says Mr. Henry George, "comes with the locomotive ; alm-houses, and prisons are as surely the marks of 'material progress' as are costly dwellings, rich warehouses, and magnificent churches." He goes on to observe "The association of poverty with progress is the great enigma of our time. It is the central fact from which springs industrial, social and political difficulties that perplex the world, and with which statesmanship and philanthropy grapple in vain."

I can call India prosperous when she will be restored to her previous state as described in the 6th and 7th century B.C. India had commercial relation with Italy, Greece, Egypt, Phœnicia, Arabia, Syria Persia, China, the Malaya Peninsula and the islands of the Indian Archipelago. Hindus built ships and navigated the Ocean as early as the age of Manu's code. Later, they held in their hands all the threads of international commerce whether inland or by sea.

The chief articles of exports were rich apparels made of silk and cotton, pearls, diamonds and other precious stones, ivory, spices, drugs and aromatics ; and those of import were gold, silver, brass, copper and tin. None exported raw materials at that time as they do at present. Had our ancestors done so we

would have been nowhere. As Carey says "exporting raw materials is nothing but exporting one's own land."

A country having ten lacs of men getting more than their livelihood can be called more prosperous and independent than one having a few capitalists owing a fortune of ten lacs each and the vast bulk of the people starving. But the so-called prosperity at present of a great country like England means the income of 21 pounds per year of 38 millions of population. This is nothing but poverty of the so-called rich country. None but capitalists will call such a country prosperous.

Let us briefly allude to favourable years and surplus figures relating to them as supplied by Mr. K. L. Datta. He says :—

"During favourable years we can spare rice for other countries only about 2 per cent of its total production, but in unfavourable years the production is insufficient to meet even our own internal demand.

"India is able to spare 12 per cent to 15 per cent of the production of wheat for other countries, unless unfavourable agricultural conditions reduce the supply to an abnormally low level, when not only do exports to foreign countries shrink to very small dimensions but the supply also becomes insufficient to meet the internal demand.

"If 12 per cent surplus of wheat and 2 per cent of rice are not exported, and are kept in reserve for three years, it will be forty-two per cent, in reserve, and still there will be deficiency of 8 per cent even if the production of famine is taken to be 50 per cent

on the hypothesis of famine recurring every fourth year ; and leaving aside for a moment the question of storing grain if the present process of cultivation is carried further, hardly any surplus of food stuffs would be left even during *normal* years.

“ How many factors are working towards the starvation of the poor? (a) Vagaries of the Monsoon ; (b) impoverished state of the land, and (c) the growing largely of commercial products. The first two factors mainly depend upon nature ; so that it is necessary to devote our attention to the last only, which as shown above is greatly stimulated by a lower rate of exchange.

Mr. Datta observes :—“ The high prices of Jute and Cotton have no doubt induced cultivators in the Jute and Cotton growing areas to cultivate these crops in preference to food-grains.

The figures in this behalf show
in the area of food crops from

	Quinquennium 1890-91 to 1894-95	1895-96 to 11 1899-1900	1905-06	1910-
Food grains ...	81.3	81.0		
Oil seeds ...	6.0	5.5	5.1	
Jute ...	1.0	1.0	1.1	
Cotton ...	4.6	4.4	5.1	

“ Another effect of this increase the commercial crops on the food supply of the country has been that the best lands available are applied towards that cultivation, while the cultivation of food-grains is relegated to some extent to inferior lands, the yield of which even in normal years is much less.

Wheat land in the North West provinces which now gives only 840 lbs. an acre yielded 1140 lbs. in Akbar's time.

We have often heard it said—and the latest to say it was Lord Halifax in 1944, that “No dividend” was drawn by the British from India but they ignore certain obvious facts. British capital investment prior to the first world war was in a way concerned with industrialization. In 1911 Sir George Paesh estimated it as under :—

					Millions.
					£
Govt. and Municipal	..	..	..	..	182.5
Railways	..	..	..	..	136.5
Plantations T.C.R.	..	..	..	..	24.2
Tramways	..	..	..	..	4.1
Mines	..	..	..	..	3.5
Banks	..	..	..	..	3.4
Oil	..	..	..	..	3.2
Commerce and industries	..	..	..	..	2.5
Finance—Land & Investment	..	..	..	..	1.8
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	3.3

Import duties on British cotton goods were removed in 1882 and a 15% duty imposed on imported Textile Machinery. 1894. Financial necessity renewed import duties on cotton cloth, an excise tax of 3½% equal to the import duties was imposed on all Indian mill-woven cloth which remained in full force till 1917 when import duties were raised to 7½%. In 1917 to 11%, to 15% in 1922 and 1924. Iron & steel industry granted protection of 332|3% import duty plus Government subsidies. Average dividend of leading

cotton mills in Bombay in 1920 was 120% and S.T. 250% while dividend on larger jute mills rose to 140% and the annual export of British capital rose from £ 15 millions between 1908-10 to £29 millions in 1921 and £36 in, 22 or more than 25% of the total. From 1927 to 1939 Imperial preference ruled the roost. In 1930 extention to cotton goods. In 1932 Ottawa agreement came into force. Result Britain's share of India's imports rose from 35.5% in 1931-32 to 40.6% in 1934-35. The duty on Japanese and other non-British cotton goods was raised to 50% and for a period during the intense Anglo Jap Trade war in 1933 to as high as 75% while that on British cotton goods (piece) was lowered to 20%. Thus protection which was originally meant to help India helped British Industries.

CHAPTER FIVE

I

Indian Nationalism

Its recovery and prospects

At this moment it is highly doubtful what the future has in store for us. The Wavell talks that followed the release of Congress leaders in June 1945 failed. This episode of July 1945 at Simla was another bad dream though shorter than the other dream of incarceration of longer duration extending over three years. Dreams are there always to break the monotony of sleep or even of wakefulness. More often than not, they also furnish considerable entertainment to us. They pass off and land us once again in the work-a-day world, instinct with life and animated by a thousand problems. The immediate problem before the nation is how to reconstruct wherever it is necessary and to revivify the edifice of Indian Nationalism which if not tomorrow, at least the day after must be restored to us, the rightful proprietors, by those who have usurped it for a century and a half. Property that has passed into other hands on long lease is apt to be subjected to serious and destructive changes of a permanent, or even a perverse character which ill-suit the owners. On restoration therefore it has to be reconstructed and renovated. In fact, India has been 'requisitioned' for over a century and has now to be "de-requisitioned".

It behoves the national leaders therefore to address themselves to the solution of this problem even from now and it is a problem that is multifaceted and highly complex. What matters really is not so much the detailed solution as the principles that determine the approach and attitude towards that solution. Shall the engine of the car of our nationalism be a steam-driven one coursing along set rails in a pre-determined direction, moving neither to the right nor to the left but pausing at stated stations and completing the journey from the starting point to the destination, in stated time? If so, we shall be making for feudalism, and moving away from democracy, in the direction of plutocratic rule conducted by a few rich men as is the case in England to-day and as was the case in France till yesterday. Or shall we move on like a motor car with a free track before it, moving now to the right and now to the left, now accelerating its speed and now retarding, coursing along not a set direction but so as to cover all by-lanes and by-paths, covering a wide field, picking up the pedestrians from the wayside, dropping them wherever they wish to alight and reaching the goal in a free and easy manner but at the appointed hour? This will be the march of democracy animated by a sincere and sympathetic regard for the poor and the destitute, the naked, the starving and the homeless, the ignorant and the diseased.

The choice then lies between Gandhism on one side and the so-called democracy of the present day, be it charged ever so richly with its socialistic ideas of the West. India accordingly lies at the parting of

ways. In one course it is under the patriarchal guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, in the other, it is already indulging in planning and industrialism which stands at the opposite pole. The question in other words and is whether the journey should be on the placid and limpid waters of a still lake or on the tossing waves of a flowing river in high floods. Gandhiji has often proclaimed that Jawaharlal is his heir. What can the latter inherit as such? The former has only his loin cloth, his dangling watch and his long stick. It is therefore well that the so-called heir has repudiated his heirship. What the heir of Gandhiji should inherit is not his personal assets but his 'real property'. This property is the principles and policies that Gandhiji stands for. Gandhism is nothing if not these. It aims at resuscitating the village as the base for the pyramid Indian nationalism. It strives to circulate the money of the village amongst the various inhabitants of the village, as has already been described, the carpenter's money going to the smith, the smith's money to the cobbler. The cobbler's money to the weaver, the weaver's to the spinner, the spinner's to the priest, the priest, to the physician, the physician's to the teacher, the teacher's to the grocer and money of all going to the barber and dhobi. This is the village economy which not only concerns the village wealth but draws the wealth of the town and the city to itself. As things stand the canal of money is flowing in the reverse direction from the village to the town, from town to the city and from the city abroad, with the result that the village crafts have been destroyed, collateral occupations

have been killed and the population has become a burden on agriculture beyond the limits of tolerance. Industries we want, even machine industry, but a line of demarcation is to be drawn between these and the village crafts. The Industries should be really brought to the village, not the villagers taken to the Industries. It passes understanding why in India women should have committed suicide for want of cloth when there are millions of hand-loom and mountains of cotton. The weavers complain of want of yarn. If ten crores of money had been set apart for spinning would this complaint have arisen? Certainly not. The pity is we still look westward while the sun must rise in the East.

In the larger field of Central and Provincial Government the emphasis on railways in the past has neglected roads on the one hand and canals on the other. New roads are being talked of so as to facilitate the import of bicycles, buses and lorries. Let us begin the manufacture of these vehicles and then extend the roads. Let us build a network of canals connecting the Ganges with the Kauveri and the Jhelum with the Padma. Then there will be no starvation for want of freight carriers. Let us promote irrigation, major and minor and thus grow more food. Let us explore the forests on the surface of earth and the mines in its bosom and thus build our chemical and pharmaceutical industries. A host of things await reconstruction but the main issue is to reunite the fragmented territorial divisions, the separated communities, the divergent rural and urban population, the dismembered scheduled and non-scheduled classes

and piece together all these factors into one united and indivisible India, which is self-sufficient and which is raised on the broad and ancient foundation of the village republic. So establishing an ism not far removed from the progressive isms of the west but one rooted in indigenous principles, laws and institutions and directed to the development of the personality of the nationals of India once again.

II

What a National Govt. will do and will not do.

The approach of the National Government towards the country's problems will be diametrically opposite to the attitude of the present bureaucracy. The approach of the bureaucracy is one inspired by British interests, no matter who is in charge of the portfolios. The approach of the National Government would be one directed towards the promotion of India's national prosperity and national good. Take, for instance, the railways. The railways were constructed in India by companies with their own private capital on the basis of a guaranteed dividend of four per cent and in some cases more. Despite the losses incurred in the railway administration, the guaranteed dividends had to be made good till 1900. It was after that that the Railways began to pay. Latterly it is well known how the railways entered into a kind of understanding with the public finance department of the Central Government under which a sum of Rs. 6 crores was to be annually contributed to the general funds from the railway profits. The railway government is

thus a government within a government, and in the year 1944-45 the contribution to the general revenues has been Rs. 41 crores. That, of course, was a war measure. Now the British people have no interest in railways because Indian railways have all been taken over by the State and the only interest left is in regard to the management by certain companies of some of the railways. Accordingly, the British interest in India has shifted from railways to roads. This sudden and unexpected affection for roads is generated by the fact that the British people are desperately out to increase their exports by at least fifty per cent., as Sir Stafford Cripps stated in clear language, in order to maintain their standard of life in England after the war. Accordingly, bicycles and consumers goods have to be imported and over and above all these, motor cars and buses. A National Government may not develop the roads straightaway. It will first establish the necessary industries for the manufacture of bicycles, lorries, buses and cars so that as the roads develop the indigenous products may be put into service.

Canals :—In a country like Germany the canals are as much a means of communication as the railways. But in India the canal system has not been developed much. The bureaucratic government is not interested in developing canals. It may not be generally known that in Bengal the jute companies which are foreign-owned are in league with boat companies owned or leased by them, so that the jute purchased by the jute companies has to be conveyed to the manufacturing centres through these company boats only. As between buses running on the roads

and boats on canals, a National Government would undoubtedly give preference to the latter. Of course, there is the time factor, but all conveyance is not bound by that factor.

Irrigation :—Irrigation has been relatively neglected. Old tanks which were the source of irrigation in the pre-British days have gone mostly into ruin and dams constructed across big rivers have not only been few and far between but in respect of rivers like the Godavary and the Krishna only ten or even five per cent of the waters flowing in the river has been utilised for the purposes of irrigation. The first concern of the National Government should be to draw up a scheme for the whole of India by accessory irrigation works as well as major works so as to impound the water not merely at the bed of the river but in the higher reaches and prevent this woeful wastage.

Drainage :—Next to irrigation, or perhaps even more than irrigation, the most neglected subject has been drainage. Additional mischief has been done by the construction of the East coast railway along the Eastern sea coast, which has effectively obstructed all natural drainage courses. The vents that have been constructed by the railway authorities for the discharge of drainage water from under the railway line have been narrow, small and illconceived. This is one of the causes of the Damodar floods which have devastated Orissa and Bengal and this also is the cause of the perpetual fear of floods on the East coast of India from Vizagapatam to Assam. Bad drainage brings in its train multitudinous evils such as bad housing, bad

cultivation and bad health. That is why East Bengal has been the victim of Malaria and nothing has been done to alleviate the conditions. Nothing can be done until the drainage problem is solved. It is surprising that the Damodar floods have not so far attracted attention and it is only during the last year that the matter has been seriously considered at all by Government. The National Government's first concern will be the floods of the east coast.

Agriculture :—Is it not a tragedy and a shame that India after 150 years of British rule should not be self-contained in respect of its own foodgrains? So long as Burma was part of India and so long as peace reigned, the real defect of administration did not show itself but with the separation of Burma the nakedness of the situation became apparent and to-day we suffer from an all-over shortage of foodgrains in the country. Therefore, grow-more-food should be the concern not merely for war-time, as they do it in England, but also for all time to come. The British policy has always been to live from hand to mouth in regard to agriculture. While in the first world war two million acres of new land had been brought under the plough, immediately after the war the acres fell back into the forest conditions and became the happy hunting grounds for the Lords. Who knows whether at the end of this war the same may not happen again!

Education :—While about four hundred crores of rupees have been allotted to roads in National Reconstruction, for education Rs. 100 crores have been allotted. And Dr. Sargent has stated that it will take

fifty-two years in order to complete the scheme. To think of half a century as the time limit for the removal of illiteracy in India is as good as not attempting the problem. The proper thing to do is to take such measures on a wide and colossal scale as would put into action all the available resources in the country and wipe out illiteracy within a period of five to ten years. To train teachers may be a very good idea but is inapplicable and ill-suited to a country where not more than fourteen per cent are literate. A National Government may enforce the idea, which has been anticipated and pooh-poohed by Dr. Seargent, namely, that every graduate before he is entitled to take his degree and diploma must produce a certificate to the effect that he has made 500 people literate. The medium of instruction should be the regional language from the infant standard to the M. A. examination. English will take a back place as second language. Incidentally, the medium of discussions in Legislative Assemblies will also be the regional language. Thus a new impetus will be given to the advancement of indigenous talent so that the unsophisticated masses of the nation may be able to participate in the Government of the country.

Law :—The Courts must be reconstructed so as to administer not merely law but justice which is swift, sure and cheap. The administration of justice must be taken to the doors of the villagers and should not be dilatory, uncertain and expensive as it is at present.

Industry :—Industries must not be concentrated in cities and towns but must be taken to the villages and a new economy must be introduced into the

villages which establishes the circulation of money among the villagers first. At present the channel of money flows from the village to the town, from the town to the city and from the city abroad. Its currents must be reversed.

Co-Operative movement :—As things stand this movement is a department of the Government. It has not taken root in the hearts of the people or in the depths of the soil. It still remains a kind of artificial movement more or less for the benefit of revenue collection. Hereafter it must take a new turn. Multi-purpose societies have to be brought into existence, which will promote cottage industries and supply capital to the artisans and the craftsmen so that the wealth of the village, both economic and artistic, may be developed and all credit, operations in the country may be limited to the co-operative organizations.

Forests :—The forest wealth has, fortunately, been untouched by the British Government and what damage has been done by the war has to be rapidly repaired. Like the forests, the mines also are not fully exploited. We have got minerals of various kind and ores of inestimable value. There has not been a comprehensive geological survey in the first place and such surveys reports as have been submitted to Government have sometimes become the private property of British investors in England. It may not be generally known that last year (1944) the amount allotted for geological survey could not be fully utilised. Could there be anything more damaging to the reputation of the (British-manned) Government of India than this simple fact ?

Science :—India has not been barren of geniuses in the domain of pure applied sciences and researches in them. There are at present three Nobel Prizemen and seven F R. S's. The National Government will have to undertake a scheme of scientific research on a stupendous scale which will produce results that will stagger the imagination of the most optimistic amongst us.

Health :—The health of the country has been neglected all along. Infantine mortality has grown up in some places to over 180 while the death rate stands at about 25 to 35 per mile. Want of food is the real problem. Maternity benefits have not been provided and pregnant women are not given sufficient rest and allowances. If you can imagine a bureaucratic Government which has allowed women, some of them carrying, into the mines of the Central Provinces, you will easily understand conditions obtaining in the country.

Nationalization :—The Karachi Resolution of the Congress lays down that the basic industries and heavy industries must be nationalized or controlled by the nation. The time has come to consider whether such industries may not profitably be transferred to the State just as the railways have been transferred. It is not clear whether Banking and Insurance may be straightway taken over by the State but there is no doubt that the textile, iron and steel, cement, oil, power, motor car and aeroplane industries must be in the hands of the State. At any rate the foundations must be laid and the planning must be so conceived that while machine industries play their

due part, cottage industries and village crafts are given their due emphasis.

In this manner, details may be furnished at great length in order to show how indigenous talent, inspired by national sentiment, directed towards the promotion of national prosperity and determined to remove starvation, nakedness and homelessness, ignorance and ill-health can cover the land with a new power and a new strength that can be trusted to drive out the demons of famine and pestilence from the land. The change will be from Imperialism to nationalism, from English to the home language, from British trade to Indian prosperity.

III

Nationalism has two sets of enemies. One is that narrow self-interest which is often apt to pass for patriotism, while the other is the Theologian's ideal of universal brotherhood, or its modern analogue of Internationalism which sometimes borders perilously on the Churchman's cult that 'Patriotism is dangerously apt to be a misleading source of diverting men from their obedience to a higher law, the supreme dictates of morality'. This zeal of the Theologian requires closer examination. What is the idea connoted by this mellifluous expression? It is the old, old Vedantic thought of the oneness of the Universe. It is the realization of the Utopian times (when all discords shall be hushed in peace and) when all jarring sounds shall be lost in harmony, when all mankind shall feel as belonging to one family. It means the recurrence of the cyclic age of Krita of the Hindu

Epics when there shall be no differences of caste or rank, neither master nor servant, neither seller nor buyer, neither sovereign nor subject. It indicates the fulfilment of the poet's vision, the hastening of that far-off divine event—

*"The bridal time of Law and Love
The gladness of the world's release,
When, warsick at the feet of peace,
The hawk shall nestle with the dove."*

It is, perhaps, in the sphere mundane, the attempt to bring the nations of the world closer together by the aid of one language, one standard of currency, one system of weights and measures, and one universal postage stamp. That the human race may gradually be educated into this cosmopolitan conception of duty is of course theoretically conceivable, though it is almost improbable. Men like Lowell may hold that "our true country is that ideal realm which we represent to ourselves under the names of Religion, Duty and the like". Even here the criterion of practical conduct is what we represent to ourselves regarding any particular matter and must therefore depend largely upon the culture of the individual heart.

We must pause to consider whether the ideal of universal human interest is a practicable one, whether the affairs of the world can be fitly managed by a general council sitting in London or New York or in the Mid-seas across the Atlantic. What should be the inter-relation of Nation to Nation or country to country? Shall we conceive the millennium when the Ostrogoth and the Lombard, the Celt, the Frank and

the Burgundian, the Slav and the Wend, the Pole, the Russian, the Cossack and the Tartar, the Turk and the Ionian, the Jew and the American, the Canadian and the Red Indian, the Mexican, the Japanese and the Korean, the Englishman and the Boer, the Zulu and the Hottentot and the Chinaman, the Hindu, the Mohammedan and the Parsee will have welded into one united and harmonious whole, when they consent to have a common purse, a common army, a common navy or, perhaps, no army and navy, for there would be little need for them.

Let us for one moment review the present condition of things in the world. The Indian who claims in vain the full rights of British citizenship is doubtless treated with some respect in England, but he is treated like cattle in South Africa, where he is imprisoned and deported without trial. He is admitted only by the back door into American homes and resented in American restaurants, he is forbidden to set foot in Australia—all this in an Empire professing the Christian faith and with it the principles of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Let us go abroad. Pearson wrote long before the world war No. I, that "in future one has to take out citizenship before being allowed to do manual labour in a strange country which will be as difficult in good many parts of the world as in Switzerland. France is less a home than it has been for the Germans. Germany is driving out the Poles or forcing them to renounce their language, and Russia is taking very strong steps not only against the Jews but even against the German colonists in the south who were recently

invited over by Government agents and favoured with Government land". Things have not altered much since 1894 when this was written. When then we could not hope to set at nought these differences amongst the people of identical faith and allied languages with a common descent and a more or less common civilization, is it possible even to conceive the Germanic races including Germany, Scandinavia and Holland with the British Empire and the United States combining for such simple purposes as the preservation of the world's peace or to procure free trade or a common system of protection; and yet these people have a common origin, a cognate tongue and to a great extent, a common religion, and might conceivably arrange their relations so as not to clash violently. The difficulty is that every one will feel that if things were otherwise he would thrive better, and that, as things stand, he is always giving and never taking. Brazil would be little willing to bear the burden of the British conquest of the Boers, and India would be not over-ready to guarantee Alsace and Lorraine to Germany or to France. Years of subjection and common sovereignty have not made the relations between the two latter provinces and Germany more cordial or even less strained. The Servian and the Montenegrin and the Bulgarian had thrown off the yoke of Turkey early in the 19th century and Crete was making Herculean efforts to establish her identity with Greece as much in name as in reality, no less in the declaration of her civic ideals than in the observance of her social laws. The Ionian Islands sought and obtained their indepen-

dence. To whatever part of the world we may turn, the progress of events indicates the spread of the principle of Nationality, perhaps as a fit preliminary to the larger principle of universal humanity. For, viewing for the present at any rate, this unity of human interest as but the vision of the Poet if not as altogether as a chimera, may we not rejoice over the fact that the welding of the German tribes of the Ostrogoths and the Lombards in Italy into Italians, the union of the Celts and the Franks and the Burgundians in France into the French, the absorption of the Slavs and the Wends in Prussia into the Germans and the possible identity of the Hindu and the Mohamedan and the Parsi in India into Indians, are events that must be welcomed the wide world over as necessary no less than desirable preliminaries to the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World ?

It is no doubt true that what is generally called modern civilization,—the demands of commerce, the growth of science and industry, the free movement of knowledge and a wide and comprehensive system of Law—is fast helping to foster a certain measure of uniformity in the world's ways of thinking, systems of life and conduct, and standards of individual and social morality. But these cannot nor need they do away with the subtle peculiarities of taste and temper which distinguish from one another the diverse races and countries of the world. They rather promote the international culture of humanity, by which life and thought everywhere become enriched. Our daily life is a response as much to the call of our communal

necessities as to the wider demands of humanity upon our sympathies and good will, through the varied story of national struggle and achievement. The birth of a new people, the uplifting of a fallen race, the vindication of a right, the avenging of a wrong, the discovery of a new truth, a fresh triumph of art over nature,—these wherever accomplished, will thrill through the world, awakening rare emotions, enlarging men's minds and perfecting life's ideal. The ultimate achievement of this consummation is hardly at all inconsistent with the spirit of nationalism, and must be distinguished from the abstract ideals of human unification and theoretical ideas of universal brotherhood. "While the great intellectual and social failure to-day lies in provincialism, no serious mind assumes that the World-idea is to be arrived at easily. Only the tree that is firm rooted in its own soil can offer us a perfect crown of leaf and blossom, only the heart that responds perfectly to the claims of its immediate environment, only the character that fulfils to the utmost its stint of civic duty, only this heart and mind is capable of taking its place in the ranks of the truly cosmopolitan. Cosmo-nationality consists in holding the local idea in the world-idea". While devoutly wishing for this consummation, the best that we can hope for, in the meantime, is that in the determination of the relation between nations and between countries, the federal principle will be progressively developed and that in the settlement of disputes between Power and Power the principle of international arbitration will come to be recognized as the first and final recourse.

CHAPTER SIX

Nationalism and Federalism

The fundamental character of the problem of Indian Independence then, is really psychological. It may have assumed protean shapes in its development and devolution but in its origin, and at its root, it is related to the realization by the Indian masses of the shame and ignominy involved in a voluntary or helpless submission to the rule of the foreigner and, with that rule, to his standards of morality, to his ideals of life, to his concepts of culture and character. All these materially differed from their indigenous analogues and therefore their superior authority, as rooted in and as emanating from the new rulers of the land, made the people of the country an easy prey to their superior influence. In one word, the people have been denationalized, their outlook has been outlandish, their tastes have been rendered foreign. So much so that India with their homes has become the out-house, yea, the stables or the garage of the palatial home of Western civilization, and themselves have become the proud and willing palanquin bearers of their alien overlords. Neither ideas of economical self-recovery nor of social self-rejuvenation would help the fallen souls to recover their lost heights of culture and character. The whole nation has to unlearn all it has learnt anew, to trace back its paths

to the starting point from which they digressed, and realign their march along their old and wonted ways to the fountain sources of their ancient laws and institutions. Once this reawakening of the nation took place, its national self-realization would be certain. The problem, therefore, is to abandon the flesh pots of modern England and hark back to the *Swarna-maya Patras* of nectar of ancient Bharathavarsha. From the time of the dawn of the new spirit heralded by Bepin Chandra Pal and Aravinda Ghosh, by Tilak and Lajpatrai, this process of rousing the nation from its torpor and intoxication has been going on now for forty years. The new consciousness of Indian nationalism began to dawn upon the middle classes at first and percolated down to the deepest strata of society until in 1942 to 1946, under the stress of the new Shibboleth of 'Quit India', he who binds the sheaf and he who watches the reef, he who tills and sows and he who weeds and reaps, he who spins and weaves, and he who prints and dyes, he who melts and moulds, and he who shapes and planes, he who measures and sews and he who robes and adorns, he who chisels and hammers and he who *joins* and polishes, —have all with one voice and in one bound, yearned back for the recovery and ownership of the rivers and streams that were dug by their forbears, of the hills and dales that were scaled and surveyed by their ancestors, of the perennial growths raised on the surface of the earth and the perpetual treasures embedded in its bosom. A wave has swept the country that has wiped out all diffidence and weakness and obliterated all prejudice and superstition so that over-

night knowledge has supervened over ignorance, light has replaced darkness and life-giving nectar overpowered death itself. The Indian problem has become, therefore, at once a problem, of awakened national consciousness, a widespread and deeprooted *Sankalpa* generating an irrepressible *destre* or *Iccha* for self emancipation which must put forth effort or *yathna* resulting, step by step, in success. Every effort made is a step to victory even as every stone placed in position is an addition to a structure. The structure may rise rapidly or be retarded in progress, but every stone is a measure and proof of the coming beauty of the edifice. Even so our efforts may only be indications of the direction or even mark mile stones in the march of progress but they ultimately must lead to the destination. Seemingly they may indicate failure but success is only the crowning phase of a series of failures and failure is but a step to success. To-day our nation is awake and has arisen from its torpor and it is well on its way to complete freedom. The problem, therefore, is fundamentally concerned with rousing national consciousness in every single member of society, in a general sharing of the sorrows and tribulations, in life, in the better placed citizens denying themselves visibly and appreciably some of the good things of the world in sympathy with those that are worse placed. It is thus that confidence is generated in our fellow-men, and confidence alone inspires fellowship in suffering, ensures preparedness for sacrifice and facilitates corporate effort in national self-emancipation so laying well and truly the foundations of freedom and Independence.

Independence is a process, not an event. It is like a minor who inherits the Estate on a particular day but takes it over fully over a period. The demand for the declaration of independence establishes the principle. The acceptance of Office begins the process by which you take over your house. The house is yours—but the process of renovation takes time and is completed step by step. It does not mean that the British should not quit India at once. They do so when they declare India an Independent country. But they must hand over charge. It may take a little time to do so in the centre and in the Provinces. The provinces have already begun to take over the charge, have taken over the charge as a matter of fact. The centre must be made over now. There is as yet no duly authorized body to take it over. So a caretaker Government is to be constituted which will provide for the preparation of a constitution and the re-formation of Government on the new basis. That Government will be the Government that must take over the centre and then the process will have been completed and we shall have completed one more cycle on the whirlgig of Time.

“The cyclic renewals of the human spirit”, wrote Aravindo, “in the races and peoples of the world constitute the most fascinating phenomena of History. Human progress seems always to have depended on the reawakening touch of some divine impulse whenever the spirit of man flagged and failed. Not a nation in the world but was sometime or other perilously near its doom, when all the attributes that lie on the Godward side of humanity went one by one,

leaving an awful emptiness behind, of unbelief, cynicism and despair. Some sank from this to death, but most were borne back to life by the resurgent wave of a fertilizing flood that restored to them all their pristine possessions—knowledge, faith, hope, will, daring.” Asia, forgetful, decadent, dying in the “scorching drought of modern vulgarity”, needed most the purifying ablution of such a wave and it has now come at its appointed hour, crested with all the glory of her own old ideals, giving India back the long lost treasure of her race, the passion for selfknowledge and an instinctive longing for a separate national existence. The time has come when the world cannot ignore or belittle the role of Asiatic countries and civilizations in the determination of human progress, when India, the central element of Asiatic forces, with her penetrating intuition and her all-embracing intellect, can ill afford to remain a passive onlooker, ‘a mere hermitage of thought and contemplation’ merging herself and her civilization in the larger culture of the universe.

Amongst the most momentous phenomena in the story of the human race, is the mystery of forces that have helped to evolve the peoples and nations of the world. On the surface of the Earth, so rich and variegated in outline, lives a humanity equally rich and variegated in feature, in expression and in mental and moral characteristics. Anthropologists speak of several physical types of organization. Social history reveals the play of widely varying instincts and impulses that shape the life of various communities. Psychologists tell a tale of diverse type of temper and

tendency seeking to perpetuate themselves each within its own environment of hill and plain and sky. How have these many differences arisen, what secret strength of influence preserves them from the dissolving power of time, in other words, what is the true basis of nationality, what are the forces that make for union or bring about diversity and what is the ethical and spiritual justification for their continuance in the ever-broadening lights of modern culture? These are the aspects which arrest attention in the preceding pages in the study of Indian Nationalism.

Whether the diverse races and peoples of this ancient land were or were not ever in the past welded by affinity of interests into one political unit forming a State or one united nationality held together by close bonds of mutual knowledge, sympathy and good will, it cannot be gainsaid that they are fast forgetting all false divisions and all seeming inequalities and under the influence of the levelling, uplifting, purifying faith of Nationalism, attuning all their thoughts, aspirations and activities to the one enchanting note of a perfected national sentiment.

The expression 'Indian Nationality' may sound paradoxical to some. It may even excite a feeling of contempt in the breast of the average foreigner that takes but a bird's-eye-view of the conditions of this country. *It* has been well said that the better you know a people, the less you will generalize about them. But still we are driven to form some sort of general idea of other nations. For want of time to particularize or analyse very deeply, we want a symbol, a shorthand note, something that will call up the

characteristics fairly well for the moment before we pass on. And so when we hear of Frenchmen, Germans, Italians and the rest, we rapidly form 'a composite picture made up of all manner of dim memories and reports to be used as a counter for the moment'. It is in some such spirit that the Indians are judged by the foreigners, and the bulk of our western brethren view the possibilities of an Indian Nation with a certain condescension, while the Indians themselves have been content with the readymade views of their foreign critics. It must be confessed too that few or no efforts have been made till lately to preach or proclaim the ideal of an Indian Nationality and where they had been made, they were but feeble and futile. The glamour of British citizenship like that of the Roman citizenship of old was so full of charm that people little thought of aught else than the privilege of belonging to the British Empire. Little indeed did they cherish that higher pride still of being an Indian in breeding as in birth, in culture no less than in race. Our predecessors, while being highly conservative in the matter of their personal life, were content to allow their civilization and culture to be melted in the crucible of time along with the culture and civilization of their masters, either in a spirit of apathy and passiveness or in the hope of evolving a new type of life and a new cast of character to be shared in common by the conquerors and the conquered. Ignoring the high ideal of trying to perfect Indian culture without surrendering its integrity, they echoed the voice of the foreigner, they saw in India only a land of conflicting creeds and jarring faiths and rival religions, they

held with him that the Hindus spake but a babel of tongues and were torn asunder by vast differences in manners, thought and language. This kind of criticism bordering on cant, originally urged by ignorance and prejudice has been accepted as truth by credulous men in our own country. We have but just begun to open our eyes and look ahead, to bestir our minds and think for ourselves, to rouse our imagination and picture to us the vision of an Indian Nationality. Amongst the few noble souls that strove in the field of Nation-building, the earliest was Raja Rama Mohun Roy, who with rare prophetic prevision emphasized the principle of Nationality in the stupendous work of regeneration that he set to himself. His profound culture filled him with a "higher conception of the destiny of the race and a richer expectation of the possibilities of the nation". A grateful posterity has in the end, though tardily, begun to recognize the urgency of a renewal of the work inaugurated by him and is engaged in the task of discovering, by the application of a new criticism to life, a fundamental unity of plan and purpose through all the varied channels of literary, artistic and social evolution of their motherland.

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